DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 310 892 RC 016 990

AUTHOR Milhafer, Judith; And Others
TITLE Indians of Washington State. Revised Edition.
INSTITUTION Washington Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia.
PUB DATE Oct 88
NOTE 142p.; Photographs and illustrations may not reproduce well.
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Culture; *American Indian History; American Indian Languages; *American Indian Studies; *Cultural Background; Economic Development; Economic Opportunities; Elementary Secondary Education; *Multicultural Education; Public Schools; Social Studies; State Curriculum Guides; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS Chinook Jargon; *Pacific Northwest Tribes; *Washington

ABSTRACT

This unit supplements social studies curriculum in Washington state schools and is offered to help teachers design courses on Indians of the Pacific Northwest. The unit is designed to build understanding and appreciation for historical and contemporary Indian culture, and to examine how people meet their needs using natural resources and adaptation. The unit emphasizes the diversity of cultures and languages among Washington Indians and the effects of environment upon their ways of life. The material covers three geographic regions: coastal, Puget Sound, and plateau. The main sections focus on the history and traditional culture of Indians. Topics include: (1) seasonal cycles and food; (2) responsibilities of men and women; (3) Indian homes; (4) clothing and personal care; (5) stages of life; (6) business; (7) feast system; (8) government and transportation; and (9) religion and healing. The appendices present the following information about contemporary Indians: (1) tribes and reservations in Washington State; (2) stereotypes; (3) Indian fisheries in Washington State; (4) treaties; (5) economic development and self-sufficiency; (6) the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation; and (7) poetry by G. Williams. (TS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED310892

INDIANS OF WASHINGTON STATE

RC016990

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

John Rutherford

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

INDIANS OF WASHINGTON STATE

Dr. Frank B. Brouillet
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State of Washington

Cheryl Chow
Assistant Superintendent
Division of Instructional Programs and Services

Dr. Willard E. Bill
Director
Office for Equity Education

Judith Milhofer
Major Contributor
Spokane School District
May, 1988

Revised and Updated by Yvonne Peterson
December, 1981

Revised Edition: October, 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	ii.
Introduction	iii.
Overview: Coastal, Puget Sound and Plateau Culture Areas	1
The Effect of Seasonal Cycles on Food Sources	6
Women's Responsibilities	9
Men's Responsibilities	23
Indian Homes	35
Sweatlodge/Sweathouse	38
Clothing and Personal Care	41
Stages of Life	46
Business	52
Chinook Jargon	54
The Feast System	57
Government	60
Transportation	62
Religion/Healing	63
Appendices	
Indian Tribes and Reservations in Washington State	72
Stereotypes	76
Indian Fisheries in Washington State	85
Indian Treaties	103
Economic Development and Self-Sufficiency of Indian Tribes	117
The United Indians of All Tribes Foundation	125
Sea Life Poetry by Miss Gerri Williams	129
Resources	131

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following people are acknowledged for their contributions to the most recent edition of Indians of Washington State, a curriculum resource guide for K-12 teachers in Washington State:

-Judith Milhofer, Spokane School District, for editing and providing information relative to Washington State's plateau region which entailed writing additional sections within the topic areas, her recommendations regarding content, and conducting a search for accurate plateau photographs for inclusion in this guide

-Livia Millard, American Indian Community Center, Spokane, Washington, for her role as a consultant and for securing photographs relative to the plateau culture area

-Nickolas Lampsakis, senior treaty area biologist, Point No Point Treaty Council, for his excellent review of the treaty and fishing rights sections and his description and recommendations of appropriate and accurate treaty content

-Nancy L. Butterfield, Information Specialist/intern, Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission for her review of the treaty and fishing rights sections and recommendations for improvement, clarity and accuracy

-Yvonne Peterson, The Evergreen State College, for her review and revision of the first edition (1981)

-Special recognition goes to Joan Banker, Secretary for the SPI Indian Education Office, for her diligent work throughout the lengthy revision process. She coordinated the compilation and layout of the guide, contributed to the editing, providing additional information where necessary, and wrote specifically in the appendix sections on fishing, stereotypes, treaties, tribal economics, and the section on the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation. She was tireless in her work on behalf of the guide so that it would be of maximum use to the classroom teacher.

INTRODUCTION TO
INDIANS OF WASHINGTON STATE

This unit is a supplement to social studies curriculum and is provided for the classroom instructor's use in designing his/her own units or course of study. This update represents part of a continuing effort on the part of the SPI Indian Education Office to provide accurate, usable learning materials to educators. Individuals with update comments regarding this book should contact the Office of Indian Education within the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for inclusion in the next revision.

This revision/expansion of the 1975 unit reflects the input of teachers using the book, and it provides new materials especially relative to the Plateau Culture Area and current information regarding tribal economics, treaties and fishing rights. The information can be used to develop units or an entire course of study and assist the classroom instructor in their development of a social science course which accurately and fairly includes instruction about the American Indian.

The three geographic regions covered in this unit are the Coastal, Puget Sound and Plateau. Information is arranged by topics primarily relevant to the contact period (i.e., food, shelter, clothing, stages of life, etc.) and the addenda included at the back pertains to contemporary times.

The objectives for studying about Indians of Washington State are as follows:

1. To build knowledge, understanding and appreciation for historical and contemporary Indian culture.

2. To examine how people meet their needs through the use of natural resources, adaptation and change.

There is an important need for Indians and non-Indians to understand each other. The study of the history and culture of Indians in Washington State should increase students' knowledge and appreciation of the Indian heritage, and students should gain a more objective understanding of Indian people.

In addition to this book, the Superintendent of Public Instruction's Indian Education Office has published several other units which can be used to supplement instruction in the classroom.

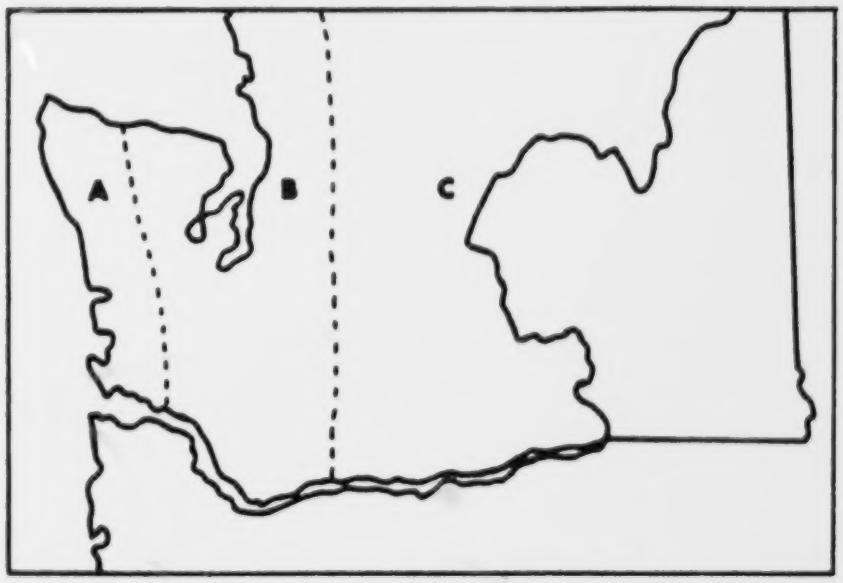
OVERVIEW

COASTAL, PUGET SOUND AND PLATEAU REGIONS

The Culture Areas

Early Indians of Washington State lived in three geographical regions: Coastal, Puget Sound and Inland Plateau. Anthropologists refer to these geographical regions as culture areas, a region where the indigeneous Indian people are more similar than dissimilar.

The physical environment determined seasonal cycles as it does today, thus, dictating and determining life styles (survival) in terms of food gathering, transportation, and clothing. Similarities are sometimes found due to the borrowing and trading of goods which occurred between the people of the three Washington culture areas.



CULTURE AREA MAP
A: Coastal; B: Puget Sound, and C: Plateau

All Indian People Were Not Alike

All Indians were not alike; they differed from village to village. Suppose you were coming down over what is now known as the Cascade Mountain Range traveling west toward the Pacific Ocean as traders and trappers often did. First you would meet the upriver people at the beginning of salmon streams with their little domed houses and their shallow river canoes. These were the outposts of the wealthy coastal region but these people hardly shared in its riches except when they paddled downstream once a year eager to trade for whale oil and dried clams.

Following the streams you would come to the huge inland waters of Puget Sound. Here the plank houses, some of the longest in the country, were ranged along the beach with rows of canoes drawn before them. Little woolly dogs would be tied up and yelping, waiting to be sheared for the next blanket weaving. Further west you would reach the seashore where the gabled houses stood at the river mouths and huge whaling canoes went out for hunting and war. The whalers of Northern Washington were the richest of all the Indians in Washington State, and inland Indians feared to have them as enemies.

The Indians of Washington State lived in tribal groups. The tribes differed in size and were usually divided into several bands or subdivisions. The tribal groups of the area may be classified by geographic and cultural region as Coastal, Puget Sound or Plateau tribes.

They may also be classified by language with seven major language families represented among the tribes of Washington State.

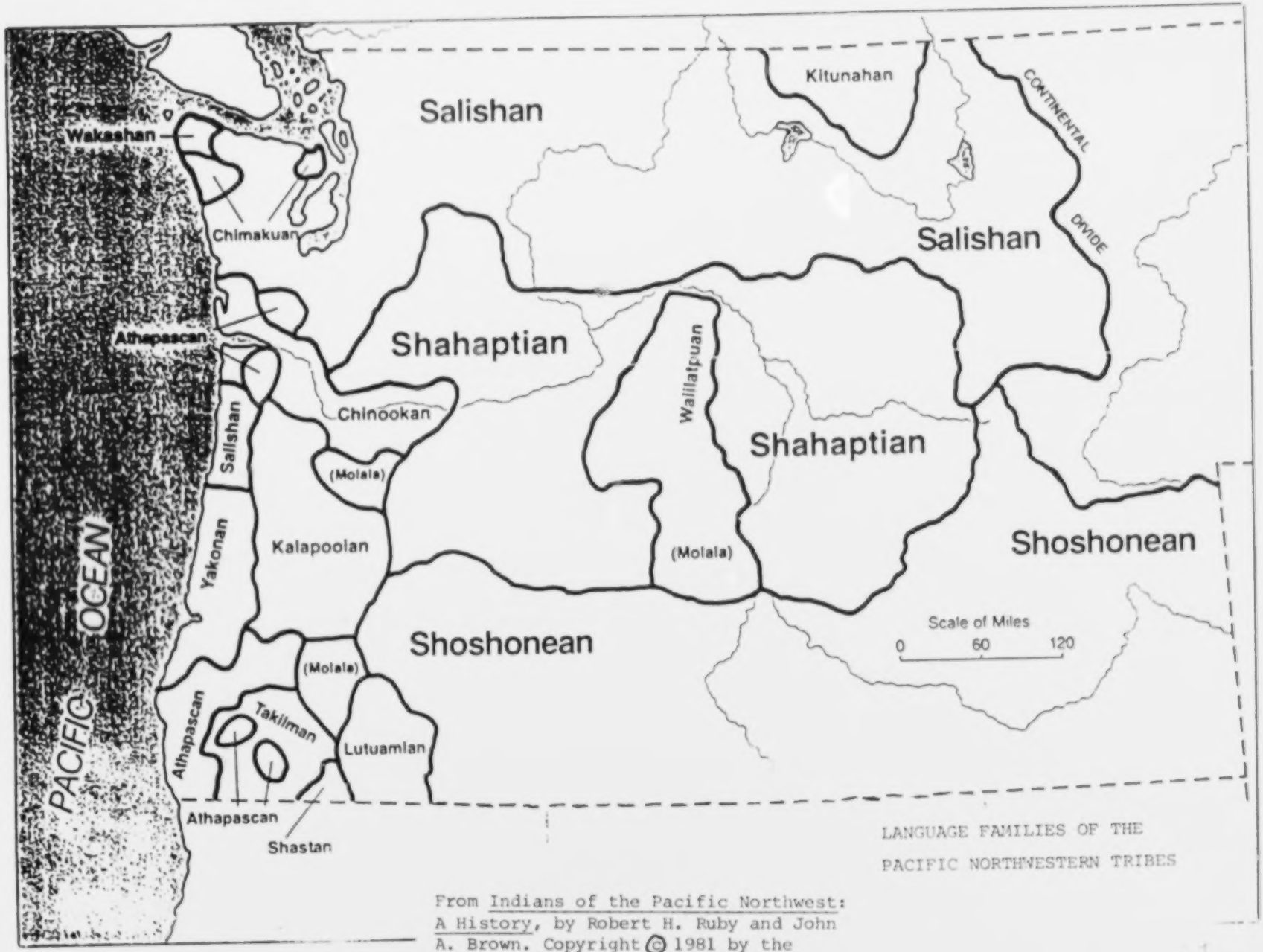
The geographic, linguistic and other differences among tribes of the area affected trade, transportation and communication patterns.

About the Language Map

The language map on the following page divides Indians of Washington State and the Pacific Northwest into groups whose languages have the same general foundation though this does not mean that the speakers of such languages can understand each other.

Some of the larger groups stretch far beyond the limits on this map. For instance, the Salish extend north into Canada. The Athapascan, located mostly in the southern part of Oregon, occupy most of Western Canada and some of Alaska while their outposts reached California and even Arizona.

This variety indicates how widely the big families of Indians have wandered. Yet there are smaller groups whose relationships are so vague that we can only guess as to where they may have come from. This means that they must have been a long distance from anyone who spoke a similar tongue. Such groups are the Wakashan and Chemakuan who might possibly be related to the Salish. The Takelma, Kalapuya and Siiuslaw have a California heritage. The Chinook Tribal language served as the basis for a trader's jargon (commonly referred to as the Chinook Jargon), composed of Chinook, French, English, and other Indian languages.



LANGUAGE FAMILIES OF THE
PACIFIC NORTHWESTERN TRIBES

From Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History, by Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown. Copyright © 1981 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The Culture Regions of Washington State

The **Coastal Region** is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and on the east by the Olympic Mountain range.

The **Puget Sound Region** is a low-land plain bordered on the west by the Olympic Mountain range and on the east by the Cascade Mountains.

The inland **Plateau Region** extends from the Cascade Mountains east to the Rocky Mountains.

The topography, climate, vegetation, and animal life differ in the three regions.

Coastal and Puget Sound Regions

A water environment dominates the Coastal and Puget Sound Regions. Streams, rivers, tidelands, bays, sheltered coves, lakes, peninsulas, waterfalls, inlets, and river valleys influenced the lives of the Indians who lived in these areas.

Heavy rainfall, especially on what is now called the Olympic Peninsula, nurtured the area's forests, which in turn provided the abundance of wood that was a mainstay of these inhabitants' survival and culture: red cedar, which splits easily into planks, soft yellow cedar and alder, which do not split and so are more readily carved into bowls and dishes; flexible yew for bows and harpoon shafts.

Pacific Northwest Indians had an extremely sophisticated knowledge of the technology needed to survive in their environment. They did not necessarily need to plant food because they had more berries and roots than they could use which were gathered simply by going to areas where nature had placed them. To catch fish they just had to wait until the salmon came up the streams, "so thick," say the old settlers, "that you could walk across their backs." In three or four months of fishing and preserving food a family could get enough food to last a year. The rest of the time they would give to art, war, ceremonies, and feasting; and it was from this pastime that they became famous for their potlatches and, hence, were considered the most wealthy and leisurely people of that time. Their basketry is some of the best in North America, and the great houses they built with carved beams and entrances were a marvel to white settlers.

Plateau Region

The inland Plateau Region (hereafter called the Plateau Region) extends west from the Cascade Mountains to east of the Rocky Mountains. Two major rivers

drain this intermountain region: the Columbia and the Fraser. The Fraser (located in British Columbia, Canada) forms the northern boundary of the Plateau Region. This region is semi-arid with considerable seasonal climatic variations. The Plateau's southern boundary gives way to the more dry and arid region of the Great Basin culture area.

The aboriginal Plateau inhabitants are characterized as semi-nomadic because their food gathering activities made it necessary for them to travel in order to participate in the three distinct food gathering activities: hunting, fishing and gathering. Plateau basketry techniques ranked among the best in North America. They wove the grasses and brush of this area into almost everything they used, including portable summer shelters, clothing, and watertight cooking pots.

The very nature of the subsistence activities influenced not only the size of the population, but also the socio-political organization, their residence type, methods of distribution, supernatural systems, and ceremonies. Horses became the primary form of transportation in the early 1700s, and highly skilled horsemen increased their wealth by acquiring these animals. Having horses permitted more extensive trading and borrowing; and, therefore, the influence of the Plateau people spread in the use of the skin and canvas tipi, certain design motifs, and clothing styles.

THE EFFECT OF SEASONAL CYCLES ON FOOD SOURCES

General

The seasonal cycle, or the changing seasons, greatly influenced life for the Indian people of Washington State. Food resources changed with the four seasons, clothing needs reflected seasonal needs, and stories and myths reflected these different periods. Indian ceremonies were often linked to seasonal changes. Large gatherings were held during times of plenty and small groups dispersed during times of scarcity. The activities of both men and women also changed with the seasons, creating a yearly cycle of social events.

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

Nature set a bountiful table in the Coastal and Puget Sound area but not all the courses were served in the same location. Most people, even some elders, traveled around all summer, visiting the different parts of their river valleys one by one as each area provided its unique supply of food. One place in the stream would be best for one kind of salmon and another would have herring. Coastal Indians caught halibut and cod, even whales. On the saltwater shores and rocks shellfish were found. Berries and wild game, such as deer, elk and bear, were found in the mountains. In the open meadows there would be roots to dig.

Families started out every summer with much of their household goods and camped at each food gathering place until they had collected and stored all it provided. Of course the schedule was different for the three culture areas.

Pacific Coastal inhabitants had the first chance to catch the protein-rich salmon returning from the ocean, but upstream people had to wait until midsummer before the salmon reached them. Plateau people had to wait even longer. Inland and Plateau people would put in months at berrying, hunting and root gathering.

In autumn when the rains began, the family would pull the mats from the roof of their last summer shelter, load the goods in a canoe and paddle home to their permanent villages to spend the winter.

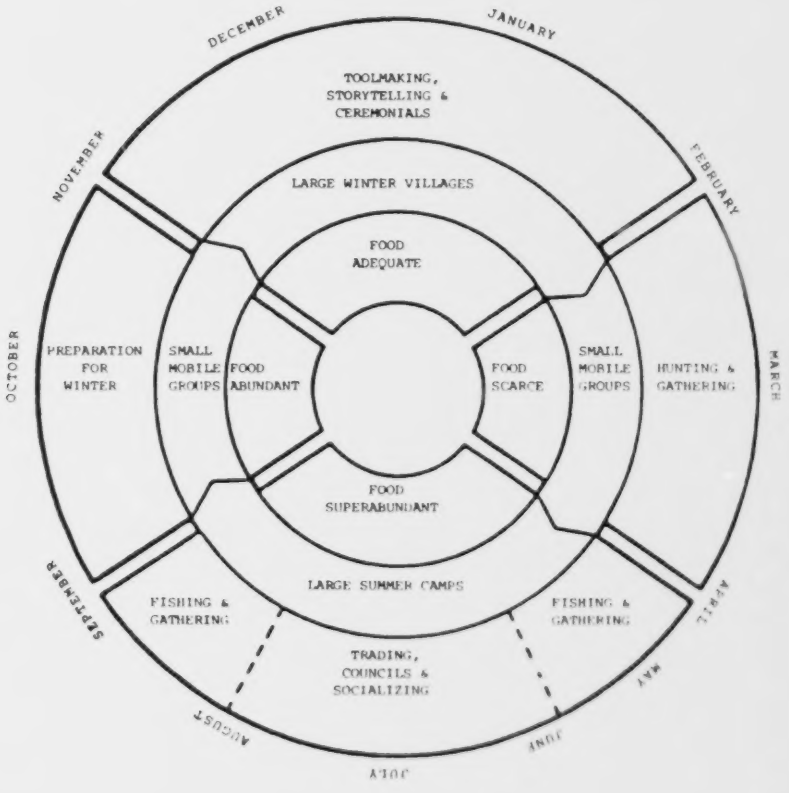
The Pacific Coast does not get much snow in the winter. Elders state that native people attended to that long ago by fighting the five Snow brothers and killing all but the youngest. But they did nothing about the wet weather. It drifts down through the tall trees in a steady drizzle or in white swirls of mist. This is when people need a house and fire, and the Northwest Coast had plenty of both. Their huge wooden houses could often shelter dozens of families and their earthen floors had room for several blazing fires of cedar logs which were available in endless supply. They spent the winter around those fires feasting, telling tales, and holding ceremonies and dances. In the intervals the women worked at their basketry, skins or weaving; the men put their fishing and hunting gear in order, carved cedar wood with their stone tools or shaped the mountain goat horn into ladles.

Plateau Region

The weather of the Plateau changes significantly with winter, spring, summer, and fall. These changes were important to the people as well as to animals and plants. Though some animals could remain in the same area by adapting in different ways, there were also animals relied upon as a food source that were migratory, particularly, the salmon which was dried or smoked and stored for future use. Plants and roots were also not available throughout the year and were preserved by various methods.

An important characteristic of the Plateau culture was the food quest or annual subsistence round. Food sources changed with the season, creating a pattern of alternating scarcity and abundance. Consequently, the people would travel considerable distances in their efforts to find these resources. Salmon and vegetable foods were plentiful in the summer once the fish started running and the plants ripened. In the fall, there were good supplies of stored food and fresh game.

This annual subsistence round was centered around the seasonal cycle of the Plateau people. The purpose of this movement was to be in the right place at the right time of the year. Such a strategy meant that food could be collected for almost nine months with a dependency upon stored food for the three months of intense winter. The following chart provides an indication of where these people would be and what they would be doing during the given months.



SEASONAL CYCLE OF PLATEAU TRIBES
Activities, Social Group & Food Supply

The times on the chart are approximate. In any given year at any given locale, transition times depended on when the seasons actually changed, when plants matured, when fish ran, when cold weather arrived, etc.

WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Cooking and Housekeeping

General

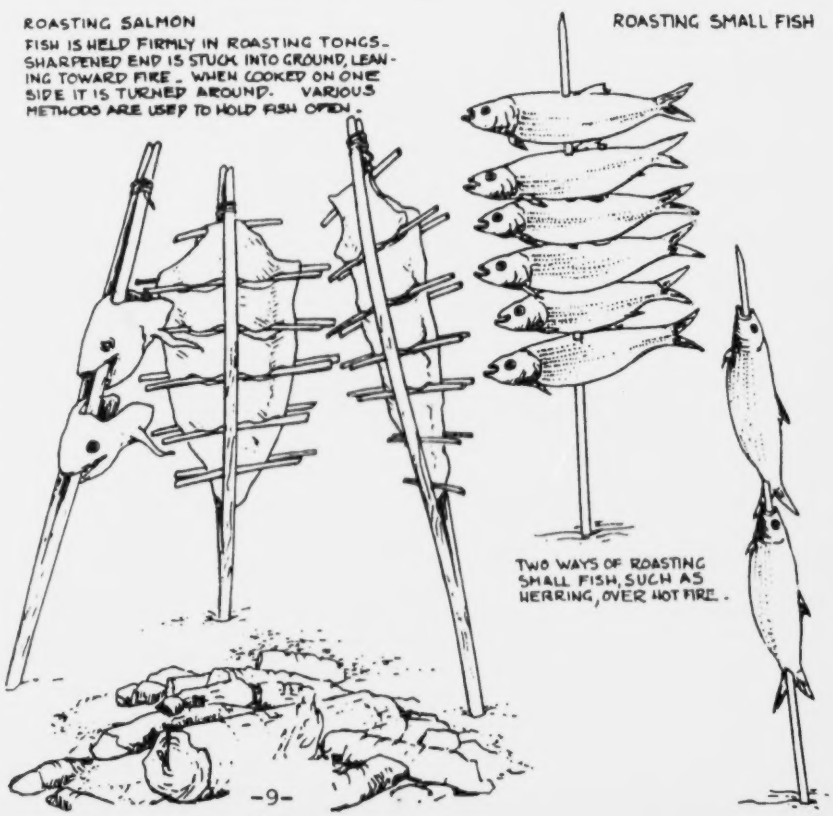
Tasks which revolved around the home, including cooking and housekeeping, usually were the responsibility of women. These traditional tasks were usually performed in the company of the other women in the home or sometimes in the village; there was a feeling of communal responsibility for these tasks. Housekeeping duties were simple: sweeping, arranging the bedding, assuring all utensils and tools were in order. Things were simpler then when one realizes that people did not have various outfits of clothes and numerous pairs of shoes, even the wealthier Coastal groups. Clutter was not a problem.

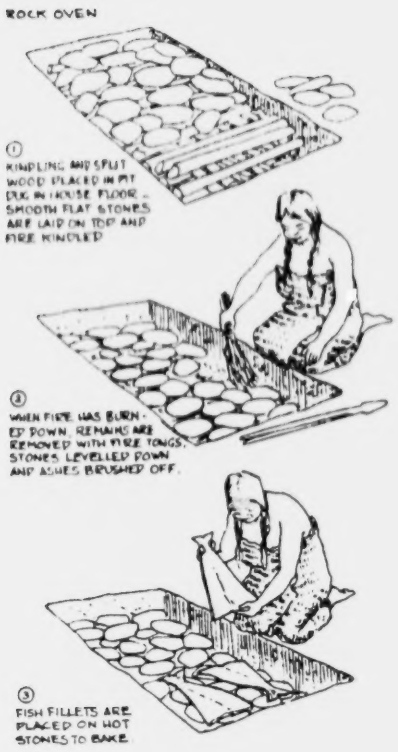
Cooking required more planning and work than today's homemaker devotes to these tasks. Their methods of cooking were similar to those of the modern homemaker: broiling or roasting, baking and boiling. But appliances were not available as they are today.

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

There was usually plenty to eat in the Coastal and Puget Sound Indian house. The shelves below the rafters were piled with dried fish, meat, roots and berries, and with fish oil which served as cream, butter and salad dressing. A family could live well for weeks and even give feasts without going outside the house. During summer the family moved from camp to camp, living completely on each kind of fresh meat or vegetable food they found available. Cooking methods used were broiling or roasting, baking and boiling.

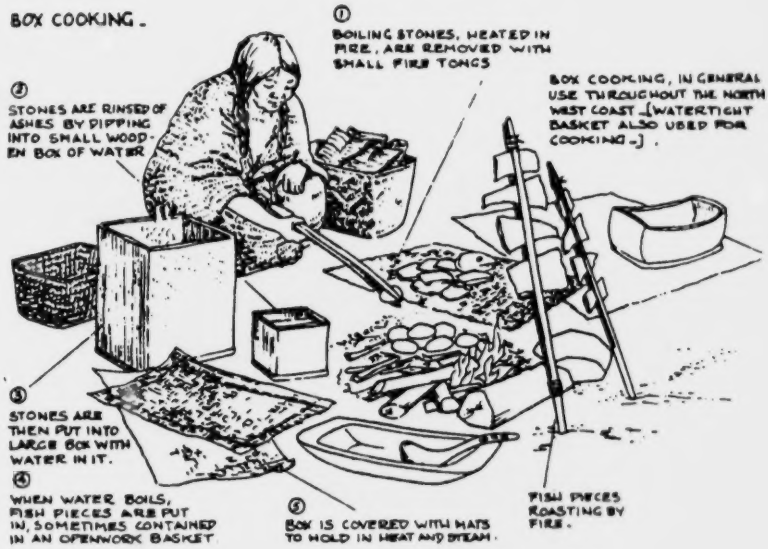
Broiling or roasting was the method for cooking fresh foods. It took little time and required no more equipment than a few green sticks with pointed ends. On these a fresh fish or a strip of meat was propped before the embers. When they wanted salt, they used sea water or seaweed which was not to be found at inland camps.


ROASTING SALMON
FISH IS HELD FIRMLY IN ROASTING TONGS. SHARPENED END IS STUCK INTO GROUND, LEANING TOWARD FIRE. WHEN COOKED ON ONE SIDE IT IS TURNED AROUND. VARIOUS METHODS ARE USED TO HOLD FISH OPEN.
ROASTING SMALL FISH
TWO WAYS OF ROASTING SMALL FISH, SUCH AS HERRING, OVER HOT FIRE.


ROCK OVEN
① KINDLING AND SPLIT WOOD PLACED IN PIT DUG IN HOUSE FLOOR - SMOOTH FLAT STONES ARE LAID ON TOP AND FIRE KINDLED
② WHEN FIRE HAS BURNED DOWN, REMAINS ARE REMOVED WITH FIRE TONGS, STONES LEVELLED DOWN AND ASHES BRUSHED OFF.
③ FISH FILLETS ARE PLACED ON HOT STONES TO BAKE.

Baking was more elaborate. This, too, was a method for outdoor cooking since it required a deep pit. This was the Indian version of a fireless cooker. Baking was done by heating stones in a pit then laying the food on the stones, covering the food with leaves to give moisture, and adding more earth. The hard camas roots had to be baked in a pit of this sort for two or three days but bundles of salmonberry shoots cooked in ten minutes. Large roasts of meat could cook in an hour. With some tough roots, the woman might pour a little water into the pit so the process used was steaming rather than baking. It was usually a slow process but it brought the food out beautifully tender with all its flavor preserved.

Boiling was an indoor method used mostly for dried foods. It was the method usually used in the winter when the woman was at home with all her equipment around her. Indians had no pots; rather they heated water in woven, water-tight baskets. Stones were heated in the fire then dropped into baskets filled with cold water. If the stones were hot enough and if heated stones were added as soon as the first ones cooled, water could be boiled in a fairly short time. The pot used by the Coastal Indian woman was sometimes a hard, tightly woven basket or a wooden box. Some women did their cooking in a boat-shaped wooden tray.


BOX COOKING.
① BOILING STONES, HEATED IN FIRE, ARE REMOVED WITH SMALL FIRE TONGS
② STONES ARE RINSED OF ASHES BY DIPPING INTO SMALL WOODEN BOX OF WATER
BOX COOKING, IN GENERAL USE THROUGHOUT THE NORTH WEST COAST -[WATERTIGHT BASKET ALSO USED FOR COOKING-].
③ STONES ARE THEN PUT INTO LARGE BOX WITH WATER IN IT.
④ WHEN WATER BOILS, FISH PIECES ARE PUT IN, SOMETIMES CONTAINED IN AN OPENWORK BASKET
⑤ BOX IS COVERED WITH MATS TO HOLD IN HEAT AND STEAM.
FISH PIECES ROASTING BY FIRE.

Meal service in the Indian home was quite an elaborate affair, though more informal at their summer camps. There were generally two meals a day: one at mid-morning when the first bout of work was over, and the last meal at sunset.

The Indians rose at dawn and washed in the rivers which were always near their houses. Then the men and younger women went out to work. If they were going far, they might take some camas bread or dried berries. The older women swept the sand around the fireplace with cedar branches then broke up some of the cedar bark which was their usual firewood and piled it on the fire which was left smoldering from the previous night. They put some stones in the fire to heat and carried water from the river in a wooden box or water-tight basket.

Then the woman would get out the dried food she planned to serve. If it was fish, she had probably started soaking it the day before because dried salmon, as tough and shrunken as kindling wood, takes up a great deal of water. She took it from the soaking bucket and pounded it, removing the bones she found. Then she placed it in the boiling box and added a little seaweed to salt it.

When the family arrived for the meal, perhaps with some guests, the men sat down first. All knew the rules for table manners so before sitting down, they rinsed their mouths out with water. Then a bunch of shredded cedar bark which served as a towel was passed around. Each wiped the grime of the morning's work from his hands then washed them in a bucket of water and wiped again. Finally, each took a drink of water from the drinking bucket because it was not proper to drink during meals.

If the meal was elaborate, a woman might serve a course of plain dried fish with oil before the cooked food was served. In that case, she laid the dried food on the mat and placed a small bowl of oil for each two or three guests. When the course was over, there were some oily fingers and a helper went around with the shredded cedar and the bucket of water. With scores of lakes, rivers and streams, water was plentiful.

Courses of cooked food were served in dishes. These were wooden platters shaped somewhat like a canoe though they were flat on the bottom. A dish might be a foot and a half or two feet long, and in one corner of it stood the oil dish. They ate with ladles made of wood or mountain goat horn; or sometimes used clam shells. People sipped delicately from the tips of their spoons, never opening their mouths wide enough to show their teeth.

Carved Wooden Ladle

After the cooked food course, people used a wooden "finger bowl" and a cedar bark "napkin." Then, if this were a gala meal, there might be a dessert of dried berries, again with oil. After the final handwashing, the drinking bucket was passed around. No matter how salty the food, a well-behaved person always waited for this. If they needed a drink during the meal it would be thought that he/she had eaten too much.

Plateau Region

The Plateau woman's daily cooking and housekeeping responsibilities were tied directly to the seasonal cycle of food gathering. Fresh food preparation depended entirely on the season. In between daily meals, spring through fall, women were actively involved in the gathering of roots, berries, nuts, and seeds as well as preparing and preserving these foods and fresh fish and meat for the winter.

Cooking methods did not vary greatly from those used by Coastal and Puget Sound women. The in-ground pit baking method using heated rocks and the open fire roasting or broiling method were widely used. The in-ground pit, put in place in the morning using fresh, available foods for a meal-in-one-pit, was utilized when small groups were moving daily from one camas field or berry patch to another. This cooking method did not require a water-tight box or other utensils. Readily available leaves and plant stock would be used to wrap or layer foods in the pit. Earth covered and insulated the pit.

Plateau Indian movement was carefully planned and based on years of observation and experience. Just as a woman today knows exactly how much can be placed in the car or camper for the weekend, so did the Indian woman know how much could be carried. Only the bare necessities traveled.

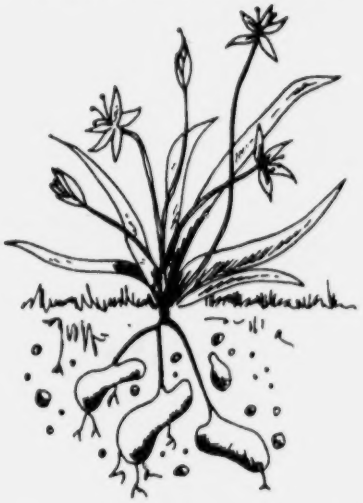
Food Gathering

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

As previously mentioned, food was plentiful in the Coastal and Puget Sound regions. Along with the vast quantities of seafood provided by the rivers, lakes, ocean and bays, the saltwater beaches also provided a wide variety of shellfish throughout the year which were dug using a carved digging stick. Some of the clams, oysters, mussels, etc., would be smoked, dried and stored to be used or traded later. Vegetable roots or bulbs such as salmonberry sprouts, bitter roots, camas, wapato, tiger lily, and fern were dug at the appropriate time between early spring and into late fall using a different type of digging stick. Also, from early summer to late fall, nature provided many different types of berries such as red and blue elderberries, blackberries, salal berries, huckleberries, prairie berries, cranberries, wild strawberries, thimbleberries, and blackcaps. These berries were dried and stored in baskets for future use. The huckleberry leaves were also collected and dried for tea. Certain types of nuts and seeds were also gathered in the fall.

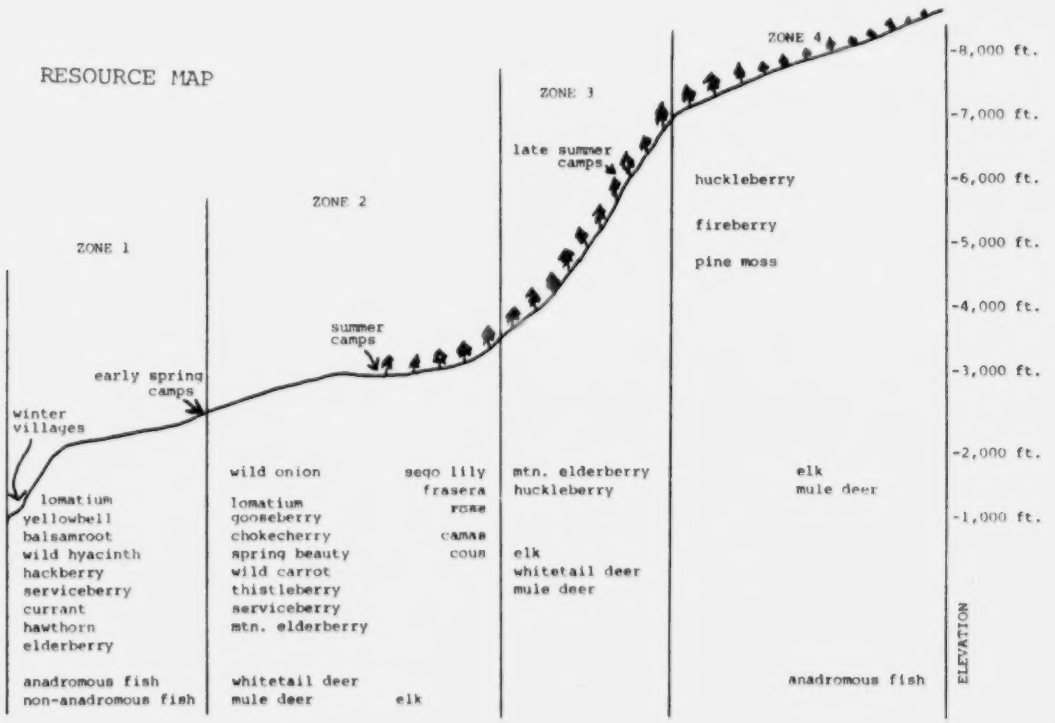
Plateau Region

Wild plants, rich in vitamins and minerals, were a main staple of food of the Plateau. Approximately three dozen vegetation foods constituted up to 30 to 40% of the traditional diet.



Camas, the bulb of a wild lily, was a major source of food. They were harvested in the mid-summer by women using digging sticks made of hard wood to obtain the roots. Food gathering tools for women were similar in all regions. Each woman gathered as many roots as possible for her family each summer. The root gathering process began in late spring and continued sometimes until late summer; and since most of the labor was done in groups, generally smaller groups moved from one area to another to gather roots as they ripened. Several types of berries, seeds and nuts were also gathered, carefully dried and stored for future use.

Conservation in food gathering was important to Indians in each region. Only large roots were dug, the best berries picked, adult game killed and only enough fish and shellfish taken as was necessary for daily consumption or winter storage.



Basketry/Weaving

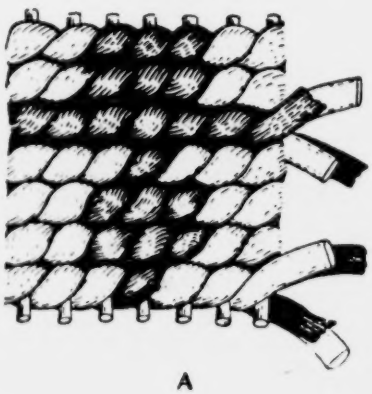
Basket Making:

The art of basket making was highly developed by aboriginal women throughout Washington State. Different types of baskets were used for cooking, food gathering and storage, and carrying water. A few distinctions in basketry methods will be made from one culture area to the next.

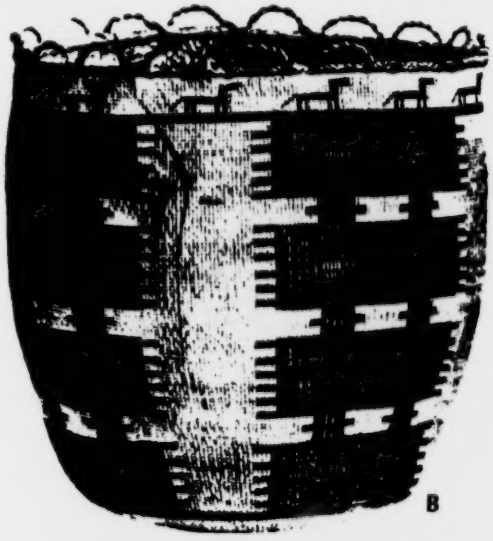
Overlay was one of the methods used for making a basket of coarse, strong materials, but covering the outside with fine, colored grass in bright patterns.

TWINED WEAVES IN BASKETRY

Overlay



A



B

Figure A above shows the method. Instead of the usual two weft (horizontal threads) strands, the workers used four; two strong ones and two decorative ones. In the Plateau region, the decorative strand was always laid along the outside of the actual weaving strand and kept there as the strand twisted so that it always faced out. The result was a basket whose outside was all in glistening color (detail shown in Figure B) while the inside showed only the plain spruce or cedar root.

This was a method popular in northern California where the twined baskets were beautifully fine. The same method extended to the Oregon coast, so often like California. A few were made on Puget Sound and Figure B comes from the Skokomish. It is a large, flexible basket made of cattail with an overlay of squaw grass in yellow and black.

A woman who needed to make baskets, and every woman did, began planning for it many months in advance. Basketry was primarily winter work, to be done when she could sit in the house for weeks at a time with her materials around her. These materials had to be gathered in the summer when each twig, root and grass to be used was at its best. Roots and twigs had to be soaked, peeled and split, grass cured and sometimes dyed. One Indian woman said, "When I begin to weave a basket, my work is already half done."

The big trees were the mainstay for basketry, as they were for the rest of the household equipment. The roots and limbs of the young cedars were peeled and split into strands as strong as wire; Indian women on the coast used the tough, slim roots of the spruce tree. For coarser work, they split the cedar bark into flat strips like tape, or dried the cattails and rushes. These formed the body of the basket. If it were close woven and allowed a field for decoration, a woman generally decorated it even though it was to be used only for cooking or storage. She might use rows of different kind of weaving but more often she added color. Experts have said the colored baskets of this region were the most handsome in America.

Basket Maker

Colored grasses, which were the Indian woman's substitute for embroidery silks, were among her most valued possessions. She had to make long trips to the mountains for the shiny "bear grass" which she might use in its natural cream color, or she might dye it yellow with the root of Oregon grape or black with swamp mud. She flattened out the black stems of maidenhair fern. She peeled the bark of the wild cherry and rubbed it to a glossy dark red. On the beaches she found bone-white "shore grass" or black sea growths. Basketry was made by three methods: Twining, plaiting and coiling. Basket makers loved to vary their work with fancy edges and many varieties of stitch, and one favorite method was the scalloped edge. A favorite decoration was false embroidery with the design showing only on the outside of the basket and the pattern slightly raised as in needlework. Sometimes a woman would weave in one or more bright strips of grass to make her basket different.

Mats:

Mat making was a part of basketry and every woman had at least as many mats as baskets. She made them of cedarbark strips or tall, hollow cattails which grew thick along quiet streams and lakes. The women gathered them from canoes in July and August and dried them in the sun. In winter, they strung these stalks side by side using string made of nettle fiber or from cattail using a special needle for mat making. No woman could have too many cattail mats, and they were made in basically three sizes. The largest mats (about five feet by twenty feet) were used along the walls as insulation and as room dividers. Medium-sized mats were used as mattresses, table coverings, rain capes and umbrellas, and folded for pillows. The smaller mats (about three to four feet long) were used as cushions for sitting in the house and the canoe. Cattails were a highly prized trade item with northern tribes as they felt these mats were superior to the cedar bark kind.

String and Packstraps:

A woman had to make not only her household containers but even her string which she needed a lot of to tie her bundles and make her mats, while hundreds of feet of it went into fish nets. The best string was made of nettle fiber. The stinging nettles with their four-sided stems grew thick in damp places; and every fall, women collected huge bundles of them. The stems were split into strips with the thumbnail and hung up five or six days to dry. Then they were broken and the long, outside fibers pulled away from the pith (the soft, spongelike center). To get them really clean and well separated, they were laid on a mat and beaten then combed over the edge of a mussel shell or the rib bone of a bear.

When she was ready to make string, she soaked the fibers to make them flexible. In her left hand she took two slender bunches of a few fibers each, holding them separate. With the palm of her right hand, she rolled the fibers slowly along her leg so each bundle was twisted. Then she pulled the hand quickly upward and the two bunches twisted together. This made a two-ply

Woman using basket
to gather driftwood

string. She also made a heavy cord to be used in carrying backloads. These packstraps, which were 15 to 20 feet long, were made by braiding except for a length of two feet or more in the center where the strap crossed the forehead or chest. Here the Indian woman made a checkerboard or twill pattern. Sometimes these front pieces were braided or twined in colored wool. A handsome carrying strap meant as much to the Indians as modern women think of their hats today.

Nets:

Many winter days were spent making nets. All the fine ones were of nettle strings and a woman kept little pieces of wood cut to different lengths to measure the size mesh she would make. A fine string net was almost invisible in the water but it often broke and the net maker had to keep mending it all summer.

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

Weaving:

Puget Sound women made their own yarn for weaving and had looms which were made of wood. They used mountain goat wool which was an ideal source of wool because it was fine, straight and very soft. The goats lived in mountains almost impossible to climb, and hunters say they are harder to approach than any other big game animal.

There were goats in the Rocky Mountains, where few Indians ever climbed, and there were some in the Cascades. Salish Indians along the Fraser River sometimes hunted mountain goats and traded the hides to the Coastal Indians. More often, though, they searched over the hillsides in spring and summer when the goats were shedding. Then, almost every bush might bear a tuft of fur, rubbed off as the animal passed.

Dog Wool:

Wool dogs were a special breed owned by the women, and they were kept separate from the house and hunting dogs. There are none of these dogs to be seen now, and Indians do not even remember how they looked because they became extinct about the time the gold rush swamped the country in 1858. Early explorers say these dogs were small and white, sometimes a brownish black. They resembled the Pomeranian or similar breeds of oriental origin. When their fleece was sheared off with a mussel shell knife, it was so thick you could lift it up by one corner like a mat. The shearing was repeated two or three times a summer and even then is was hard to get enough wool for blankets. Dog wool was mixed with goat wool, goose down and with the fluff of the fireweed plant. These materials, in any proportion obtainable, were then laid on a mat and sprinkled with a fine white clay. This clay was a prized possession to be found in only

a few places and women kept balls of it for which they traded. The weaver beat the clay and fibers together with a flat, smooth piece of wood that had a handle like a sword. The clay helped take the grease from the wool and to whiten it because dog wool was not as white as mountain goat wool. Next the woman would comb the fibers out with her fingers and roll them on her leg as she did the nettle bark. After the wool was spun on her spindle, the resulting thread was a loose, soft twist, as thick as a finger. A blanket made entirely of this thread was very warm and heavy.

In the foreground is a woman weaving.
At the right is one of the little white wool dogs.

Blankets:

The Salish blanket was ten or twelve feet long if it was to be used for bedding. A five or six foot piece made a mantle. Usually it was white but there might be some wool from a brownish black dog or bear wool worked into a border or into a few wide strips. Occasionally these crossed each other in a large plaid.

There was not much color until white people brought yarn for trade. Klallam and Cowlitz women made a few really beautiful blankets; however, there was no one to encourage them to make these blankets for sale as the Indians in the Southwest were encouraged. They found they could get Hudson Bay blankets with far less trouble, and so they gave up the art some 75 years ago. Had that not happened, Salish blankets might have been as famous today as those of the Navaho.

Plateau Region

Distinct developments of the Plateau region were the coiled and imbricated (having the edges overlap in a regular pattern) baskets or twined flat bags decorated with false embroidery.

Coiled Baskets:

The rigid coiled baskets were utilized for the gathering, storing and cooking of foods. A cedar root foundation was generally sewn into a continuous coil and most of the cedar root baskets were decorated with a process called imbrication. Imbricated baskets had strips of decoration that were folded and tucked under the stitches during the construction process. Plateau women were superb basketmakers, and their cedar root stitches were so firmly sewn that many of the coiled baskets were watertight. These baskets were sometimes used for cooking by adding hot stones to water inside the basket. This brought the water to boiling temperature.

(Photo courtesy of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane.)

Basket shapes varied, although there were common shapes for particular uses. The oval shape was the common form of berry baskets. Baskets with sides flared up and out might also have a leather thong for use as a handle or as a tie to secure the basket around the waist or to a horse.

Initial baskets or what was termed practice baskets made by young girls were sometimes given to more accomplished basketmakers in the belief that greater skills might be transferred to the novice.

"Sally" Bag:

Pliable, cylindrical, twined bags were constructed by the Plateau Indians who were located on the lower portions of the Columbia River. These handwoven bags, used for storage of berries, roots and dried fish, were often called "sally" bags but the origin of the name is unknown. The flexible bags were made by a twining technique and designs were added by a process called false embroidery. False embroidery was applied by wrapping a single strand of decorative material (such as bear grass, cornhusk or yarn) around the outside weft (the horizontal threads interlaced through the bag) during construction of the bag. Interestingly, the design does not appear on the inside portion of the bag.

Cornhusk Bag:

The Plateau seasonal cycle kept the Indians located there moving from camp site to camp site in order that, ultimately, they would be in the right place at the right time to gather various foodstuffs. Soft, flexible containers were needed to transport and store the roots, berries and other foods that were acquired during this annual seasonal round. Twined flat bags, popularly called "cornhusk" bags, were well suited for this purpose. Early bags were constructed of hemp, bear grass and other natural materials. Cornhusk became the common decorative element in the latter part of the 19th century. These bags were valued as trade items because of their convenience for carrying various trade items on horseback, gathering and storage, and they were easily stored when not in use. The cornhusk technique and materials were also used to make fold-over pouches, hats and horse regalia.

Sahaptin-speaking Plateau Indian women, especially the Nez Perce, Yakima and Umatilla, were generally recognized as the creators of most twined flat bags. During the Reservation Period, however, all Plateau people were introduced to the craft. Reservation life also eliminated the utilitarian or practical need for the flat bag but Plateau women continued to make them for sale or trade. Designs added to both sides of the bag were created by the false embroidery process.

Beaded Bag:

Early ethnographic (ethnology is the anthropological study of socio-economic systems and cultural heritage, especially of cultural origins and factors

(Photo courtesy of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane.)

influencing cultural growth and change in technologically primitive societies) field workers did not mention the use of beaded bags by the Plateau Indians and the general assumption is that the bags are a product of reservation life. It is possible that beaded bags were utilized as decorative objects and not for functional purposes. Their similarity to flat "cornhusk" bags is striking and one surmises that beaded bags, simpler to construct than woven flat bags, were made by many Plateau Indian women for sale or trade during the reservation period.

Beaded bag designs, which incorporated the various colored beads that became available in the late 19th century, were generally of three different patterns. Geometric designs closely resembled the designs used on twined flat cornhusk bags. Floral designs were either created free form or copied from transfer patterns. The third type of decoration used on beaded bags was the realistic design which depicted the figures of humans or animals.

Geometric, floral and realistic designs were created on beaded bags by utilizing the "overlay" or "scatter beading" sewing techniques. The "overlay" stick, used to create a solid design, is distinguishable from the broken-line appearance of the "scatter beading" stitch. The latter sewing technique was more characteristic of the eastern Plateau Salish-speaking people.

MEN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Fishing, Hunting and Canoe Making

The role of Indian men in early history was that of fisher, hunter and protector. The skills required to meet these demands varied from region to region, that is from Coastal, to Puget Sound, to Plateau. The environment in each geographical area determined the approach to survival.

The basis for the economy of Indian tribes in Washington State was fish. The salmon, originating in the ocean, ran thickly in natural abundance in almost every river and stream. Fish formed the basis of nearly all aspects of tribal life. Fish were so plentiful they were used as a medium of trade in Coastal, Puget Sound and Plateau regions.

To Indian people, fishing was and is more than a livelihood. It is part of their culture and life. The right to fish and hunt was so important that during the 1850s treaty period it was specifically reserved for tribes and not transferred to the United States.

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

Canoe Making:

The Indian's canoe was essential for obtaining a living. Without it, he would have had no chance to trade, to visit or to go to war. People often think of an Indian canoe as being made of birchbark but the Northwest Coast Indians never saw such a canoe nor would it have been much use to them in the rough waters of the Pacific Ocean.

Their canoes were dug out of the trunks of cedars, sometimes fifty feet long and six or eight feet thick. The largest canoes could carry eight to ten thousand pounds of cargo or twenty to thirty people. Dugout canoes had various shapes and sizes. On the beach in front of an Indian village, you might see five or six different kinds of canoes drawn up, turned over and covered with mats to

Fishing Camp

protect them from the sun. Those that the men were using might be floating in the cove, tied to a sharp, pointed paddle which was driven into the ground like a stake. They made the sharp-ended canoes for rough water and blunt-ended or "shovel-nosed" ones for still water. The sharp-ended canoe cut through the water like a wedge or yacht; the blunt-ended one pushed the water away like a scow or ferryboat. The sharp-ended canoes were used by the whalers and ocean travelers who needed large, heavy craft, able to breast high waves.

One secret of the construction was the extra curved projections at bow and stern, carved from a separate piece of cedar and attached with pegs. These added pieces gave the canoe the effect of a living creature and Indians said "it was like a salmon, flat and wide in the middle, tapering and curving up at both ends." The bow end projected most, since this must spread the oncoming seas. In landing, when the breakers caught the canoe from behind, it was turned around and brought in stern first. The smaller canoes were used for river work and fishing. They were of the same general construction as the larger ones.

The blunt-ended canoe was for upriver people and adapted easily to river travel. It was also well suited for sliding over sandbars and being poled and pushed through little streams. It was shallow, round bottomed and looked much like a tray. The ends of this canoe were cut straight across and were carved or built out into little platforms where a man could stand to spear fish, looking straight down into the water, while another man paddled from the middle of the boat. White men called the blunt-ended canoe a "shovel nose."

Not every man could make a canoe. Generally, there were one or two men in each village who could make them better, and they were paid for their work. Perhaps they had spirit helpers. A man might save furs for years in order to visit that land of especially big cedars and order the craft he wanted. The canoe maker had to choose a log which was the right length and of even thickness all the way, without branches. For the big seagoing canoes, this meant a giant tree. The canoe was made from half or, perhaps a little more than half, the cedar log which was split lengthways. It was roughly shaped and hollowed out by splitting off slabs with wedges. The work was done by patient charring with fire and hacking off the charcoal with an adze.

The canoe maker measured entirely by eye until the dugout was nearing its final shape. Then he bored holes through the sides of the canoe at intervals and thrust a stick through to measure their thickness. Later, he plugged these holes with pieces of wood. The log had to be hollowed out, shaped and curved. The canoe maker accomplished this using cooking methods. By pouring water into the canoe until it was almost full and then adding hot stones, he was able to achieve the desired shape. He built a fire under the canoe at the same time; and, between the two, the wood was steamed until it was soft and pliable. Meanwhile, stout pieces of yew wood were cut just the width the canoe was to have at various points along its length. At the center it would be considerably wider than the original log, while it would taper at both ends. He wedged these yew sticks between the gunwhales, like seats, so that they kept the sides bulging. Then he dipped out the water and allowed the

CANOE SHAPES AND PADDLES

Northwestern canoe shapes:

(A) Sea-going canoe, 30 to 50 feet long. Cross section as at (G) below. Note the "sitting pieces" sewed on at bow and stern.

(B) Freight canoe for rivers. Shorter and shallower than (A).

(C) Hunting canoe, about 10 feet long. The cross section in the center is like (G) but at the bow the hull is sharpened so that it practically has a keel.

(D) Shovel-nose canoe, for rivers, flat and shallow. Cross section at (H).

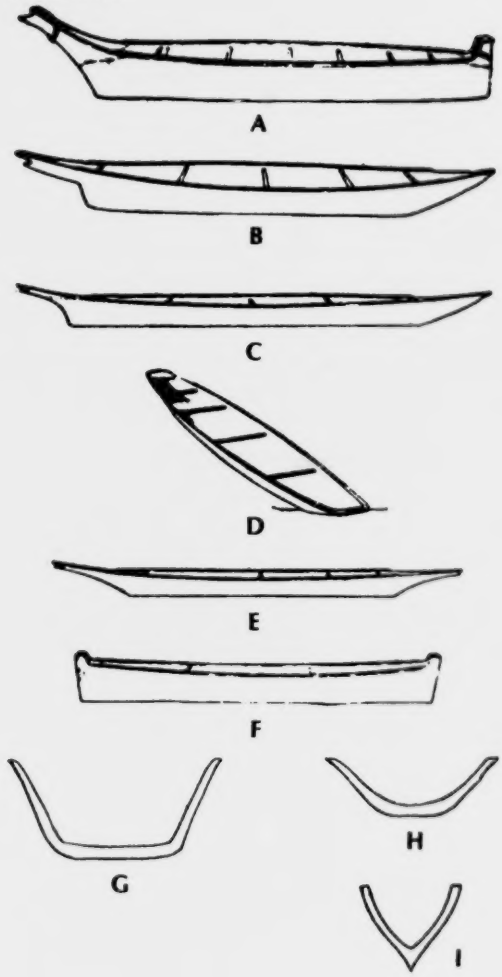
(E) One-man canoe for duck hunting. Sharp cutwater at bow and stern as in figure (I).

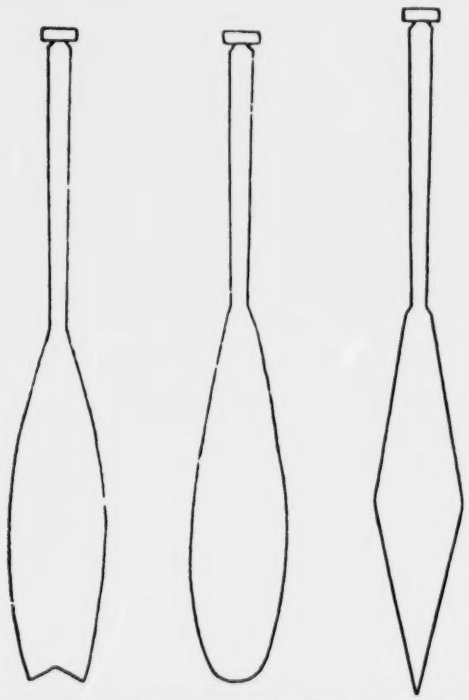
(F) Knock-about canoe used for sealing and, recently, for racing.

(G) Cross section of (A), (B), (C).

(H) Cross section of (D).

(I) Cross section of (E), (F).



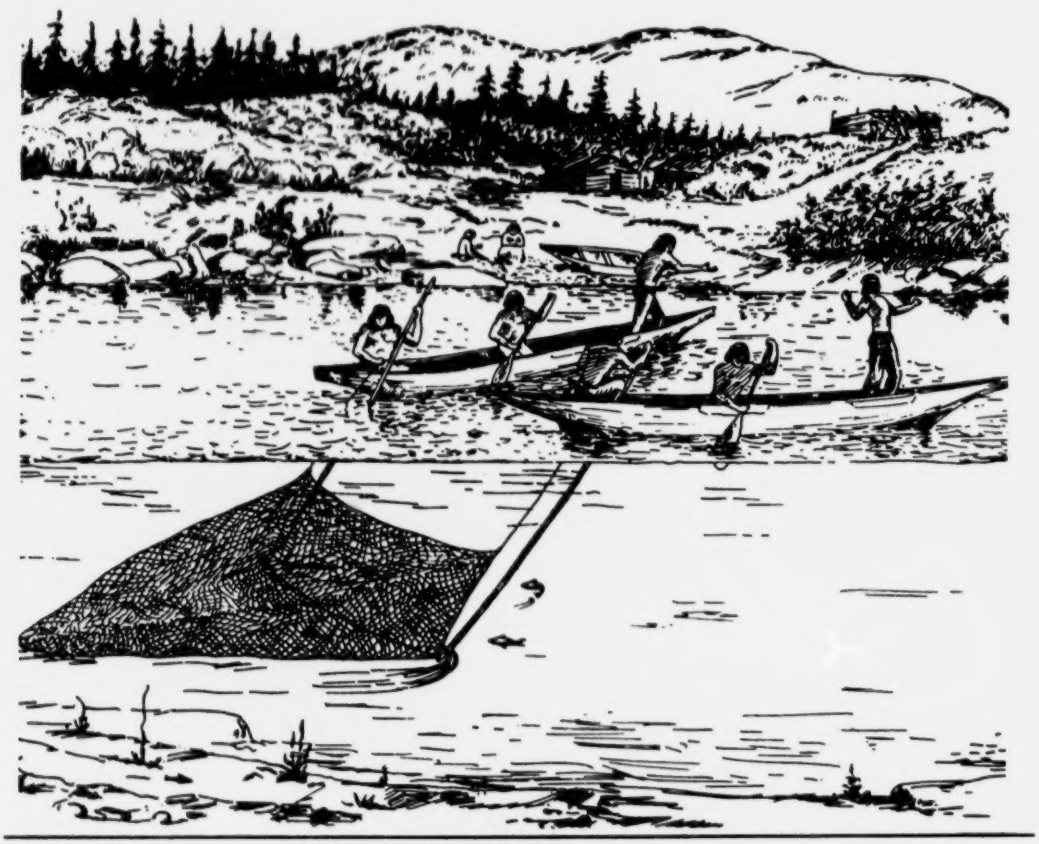


Canoe paddles. Center one is the usual shape. Notched one fits over a tow rope. Pointed one is driven into the beach as a stake for canoe.

canoe to dry in this curved shape. Finally, the thwarts (seats across the canoe) were fastened tightly to the sides of the canoe by cedar withes (tough, supple twigs), passed through holes in thwart and gunwhale. Most canoes had extra sitting pieces pegged on at one or both ends. The inside of the canoe was usually colored red. The Indians made a sort of oil paint by mixing red ochre with fish or seal oil as modern paint is mixed with linseed oil. After being smoothed with sharkskin, the exterior was charred lightly with a cedar-bark torch. This singed off roughness and left it black. Paddles were made from yew or maple wood and polished smooth with sharkskin. Some were pointed at the end so they could be dug or driven into the beach or bank to hold the canoe. Others were notched so as to fit over a rope when the canoe was being towed.

Fishing:

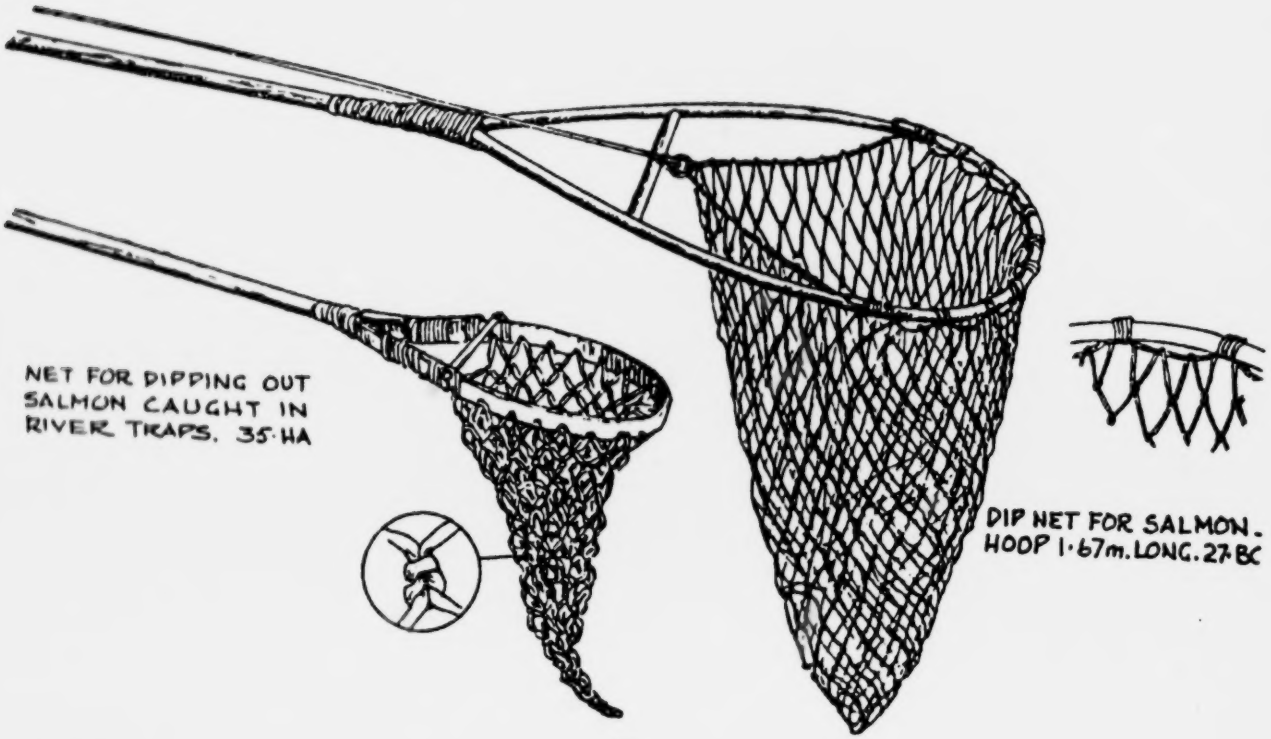
Fishing, primarily of salmon, was the main occupation of Coastal and Puget Sound Indians. There were various methods for harvesting fish in both fresh and salt water: spearing fish in streams and rivers; using dip nets, bag nets and reef nets made by the women of the tribe; using wicker baskets placed in strategic locations in streams to catch the fish as they ascended; as well as traps, weirs and fences through which water flowed allowing for large quantities of fish to be taken at a time when the fish runs were at their peak. Weirs were built in the river to block the upstream passage of fish or to guide them into a trap. The lattice was put up for the fishing season and removed afterwards. The framework would remain in the river all year being repaired as necessary.



A bag net dragged down the river by two canoes.

FENCE WEIR WITH TRIPODS

FENCE WEIR WITH PLATFORMS, ACROSS SHALLOW RIVER OR STREAM - MIGRATING SALMON COLLECT AT FENCE UNABLE TO PROCEED UP RIVER, AND ARE TAKEN WITH DIPNETS.



NET FOR DIPPING OUT SALMON CAUGHT IN RIVER TRAPS. 35·HA

DIP NET FOR SALMON. HOOP 1·67m. LONG. 27·BC

Whaling:

Some Coastal Indian tribes hunted whales. Their whaling canoes could carry eight to ten people, and each person had a special job to do. There was a watcher, several paddlers, two harpooners, and a "sewer," this was the person who sewed the mouth of the whale shut so it would not swallow water and sink. The whale hunt might last ten or more days. Because there was not much space in the canoe, the whalers could only carry a small amount of food and water so they had to prepare themselves ahead to time. During the weeks before the whale hunt they didn't eat much food or drink much water. To make their legs strong, they would tie tree branches to their legs and run through the water.

The whalers also had to make all the tools they would need. Floats used to keep the whale from sinking were made from seal skins. These skins had to be filled with air when the whale was spotted. It took quite a while to make the harpoons, the paddles and even the large, stong canoe they would use for the hunt. Also, the hunters would appeal to their spirit helpers for a successful hunt. It was important to stay awake during the long days and nights on the open sea. They had to continue searching the ocean for a passing whale, and they also had to keep on course so they wouldn't get lost. To stay alert and ready, the hunters rubbed their bodies with stinging nettles. If they fell asleep, a whale might surprise them and upset their canoe.

When the hunters returned home with the entire whale in tow buoyed by the seal skin floats, the people from the village would paddle out in their canoes to help pull the whale to shore. As it was towed to the shore, the people would call out their greetings to the great whale. They would give thanks to the whale for visiting the people. Then there would be much to do to prepare the whale for all its many uses--for the food it supplied and the tools that could be made from its large body.

Hunting:

Both large and small game as well as several varieties of fowl were plentiful in the Coastal and Puget Sound regions. Deer and elk were the preferred game meats and were usually hunted in the same area and at the same time of year that huckleberries were picked. When eaten fresh, game meats were boiled, steam baked or roasted before the fire. These meats could also be smoked for later use.

Again, conservation was always practiced and only adult game were killed and only as much as was necessary for daily consumption or winter storage.

Plateau Region

Men's work in the interior was also that of fisher, hunter and protector. The work, however, was a little different.

Fishing:

The fishing and gathering economy began in the spring and continued through fall. If the summer harvest was inadequate, hunting of game and fishing continued through the winter even on snow shoes.

Fishing along the rivers within the Plateau region, particularly the Columbia River, provided the richest food sources of these peoples. They used all types of fish but considered salmon the most desirable. The spring/summer schedule of the Plateau would often revolve around the beginning of the runs of the various types of fish.

The interior Plateau people saw a canoe as a means of transportation rather than a fishing vessel. The concept of the canoe may have been borrowed from the people west of the Cascades where it would have been seen on trading trips.

Canoes in the Plateau area were sometimes made from the bark of white fir or birch bard with ribs of bluewood. Dugout canoes in this region were made from yellow pine. The dugout canoe was about two feet wide and twelve to thirty feet long.

Kalispel c 1917, birch bark canoe
(Photo courtesy of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane.)

Men were the principal fishermen, although women assisted in splitting, drying and storing the salmon as well as various other types of fish. During the course of the fishing, the people would employ various methods such as weir trap fishing, spearing, willow traps, torchlight fishing, and dip netting. Some plateau groups had fish stations. These were highly prized and were passed down by inheritance into the possession of a group of relatives in each generation (decendants of original discoverers of the site). Others needed permission of its owner. Approximately six to ten related men owned a station and each station usually had a chief or headman. The fish caught belonged to the fishermen, but custom permitted old men (preferably anyone) to take fish for each of their two meals a day.

Fish Corral. Mouth of the Okanogan River
where it meets the Columbia River
Photo by Frank Matsura
(Photo courtesy of Okanogan County Historical Society)

Hunting:

Although fishing was the major means of subsistence for the Plateau, hunting, particularly of deer and elk, was an important activity of their livelihood. Other important game animals which provided food included bear, rabbits, ducks, geese, and beaver. Men did most of the hunting while women participated in group hunts, did much of the processing and hunted some smaller game. The principal weapon was the bow and arrow.

In preparing for the hunt, men would gather and decide among themselves where they would go, whether snow shoes were needed, how much food to take, etc. Food eaten during the hunt was generally dried salmon eggs. One man was appointed to conduct the hunt; his duty was to make plans concerning the route and where they would meet. Before leaving, the man would build a sweat house in which he sweated for several mornings. During the sweat, he would talk to the steaming rocks, asking for good luck and that the hunters kill much game. At the same time, his companions would also be sweating.

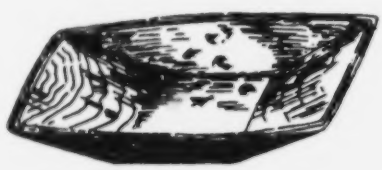
The young men prepared their hunting tools, bows and arrows, and ropes. They talked with old hunters who knew the environment, the ways and habits of the deer, their trails, and how to hunt the deer with very little effort.

Within the hunting party, the game killed is divided evenly, and the person who killed the game was entitled to the skin (or hide) and horns. Hunting was much easier in the winter since the heavy carcass could be pulled across snow drifts.

Art of Woodworking

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

Indian men of the Coast and Puget Sound used their art of woodworking for all sorts of purposes. The commonest were carving the serving trays which looked very much like a shovel nose canoe. Large ones for feasting might be three or four feet long and the individual ones a foot or less. Poor people's trays were roughly hollowed out but fine ones were polished and sometimes inlaid around the edge with shells or sea otter teeth. A good carver made bowls for fish oil out of yew, alder or maple knots instead of using clam shells. He also carved wooden ladles. Some ladles were used for serving from the tray and some were used like a cup from which they sipped their food.



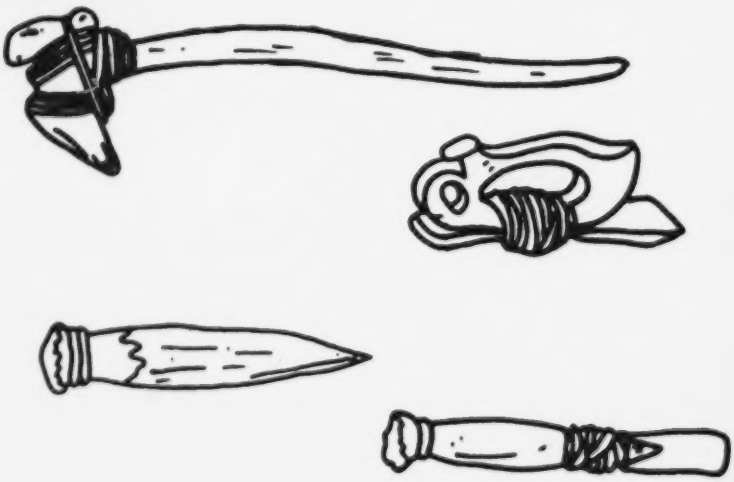
Wooden Serving Tray

Wooden Ladle

It was necessary for Indian people to make all their own tools and utensils. Cutting, scraping and chipping stones were made from rock. Wedges, adzes and other carving tools were a combination of rock, bone or horn and wood with cedar bark twine and pitch used to connect the various pieces. Woods such as yew or vine maple were used for tools requiring more strength because cedar is very light weight. Tool handles, wedges, bows, paddles, and spoons were all carved out of a variety of woods. Digging sticks used for roots and clams were made from a hard wood, pointed and then a horn or antler was added.

Carved Wooden Serving Bowl

Tools for woodworking were wedges of wood, stone, bone or horn for splitting cedar, mauls or hammers of stone used to drive the wedge into the wood, and adzes with stone blades and wooden handles attached using wild cherry bark or cedar bark twine. Carving knives were made of sharpened shells set in wooden handles or of sharpened rock. Drills were sharp pointed pieces of stone attached to the ends of straight sticks. Wet sand, sandstone rocks and sandcoated string were used in carving and shaping stone, bone and horn.



Tools: Top to Bottom -

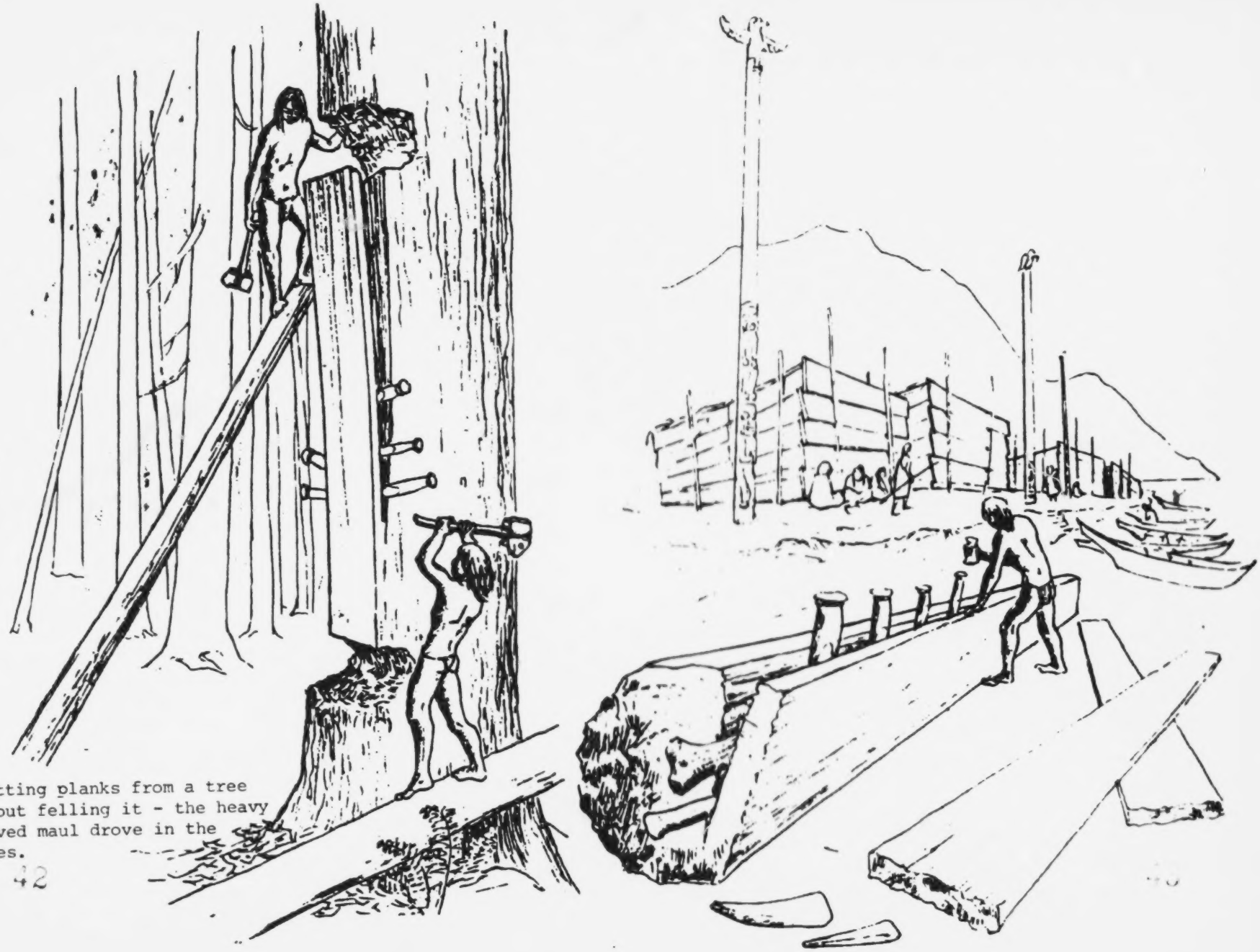
Top to Bottom: Ax; Stone Adze; Wooden Wedge; and Chisel

The water bucket was a square box made out of cedar with a wooden handle run through holes near its rim. Some used the water bucket for stone boiling, but the more northern tribes made them with lids. They were made without nailing or sawing. These square, solid-looking buckets were made by steaming the soft wood, bending it into shape and then lacing it together. This meant boring a series of holes in the two pieces to be joined, then lacing them together with some form of stout cord, either rawhide or cedar rope. When the four sides of a box had been prepared in this way, the bottom was grooved and fitted in without lacing. These bentwood storage boxes, ranging in size from small household sizes to larger ones carried in canoes, were made in the same fashion. Some were elaborately designed and carved, as the cedar not only lent itself to steam bending, but was also most suitable for carving.

A man felt lucky if he obtained a huge mountain sheep horn from which he could make a spoon or a bowl by cutting out a section. For a bowl, the horn was steamed soft and cut into shape and figures were engraved on it using a beaver tooth. The ladle was a shallow, oval spoon, keeping the curve of the horn. Its short handle might be plain, cut into open work or even decorated with a little animal figure.

The most northern tribes of Washington, the Klallam and Makah, carved totem poles house supports and house fronts as well as elaborate wooden masks and other simple ceremonial objects. Sometimes the workwood was painted red or black.

Totem poles of the northern Coastal tribes were carved out of great cedar trees. They were carved to show clan or family crests, grave memorials and historic events. Totem poles were <u>not</u> gods or demons, were never worshipped and were not used as religious figures. When a family or clan erected a memorial pole, they were showing their coat of arms (or crest), showing their honor, and showing what rights or privileges their family had. Along the Northwest Coast, different tribes had different styles of carving; and some large poles were very expensive and took two to three years to carve. Sometimes a family would spend all they had for the honor of having a totem pole.



Splitting planks from a tree without felling it - the heavy grooved maul drove in the wedges.

42

INDIAN HOMES

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

The summer homes of the Coastal and Puget Sound Indians were temporary lodges built of rushes or bark. Little shelter was needed except during the winter when the weather was cold and rainy for long periods of time, then permanent houses were built. Cedar planks two or three feet wide and from three to six inches thick were cut using wedges made of elkhorn or with chisels of beaver teeth and flint. From these planks and logs rectangular houses 40 to 100 feet or more in length and 14 to 20 feet wide were built with a roof structure similar to tiles. The roof slats could be adjusted to let out the smoke from the cooking fire and let in light. The only opening other than a single door (generally placed at the ends of the houses) was this one left along the ridge-pole to permit the escape of smoke. Windows would have let the cold air in. These long cedar plank houses were always situated by a stream or river and accommodated a number of families, each with its own small fire in the shallow excavation which ran lengthwise down the middle. They would keep the fire going day and night; and if it did go out, they would whirl a stick in dry cedar until it began to smoke and then put on cedar bark. The floor was dirt, and from the ceiling dried foods and roots would be hung.

Cedar Plank Longhouse with Totem Poles

Longhouses of the northern-most Coastal Indians were often decorated on the outside with paintings or carvings. These designs weren't just for show. Just by looking at the designs, you could tell what the family history was and you could tell what clan the family was from. This decoration wasn't always just on the outside of the longhouse. Inside the homes of some high-ranking families there were poles that were as beautifully carved as the ones on the outside.

Bunks lined the walls and the four or five feet of earthen floor between them and the fire was the living space of the family.

Interior Arrangements:

A prominent feature of many of the houses was the central pit or trench from one to five feet deep and entered by steps or a ramp. Houses for more than one family had a number of fires placed along the sides of the building, the center being left open for a passageway. Two to four families used one fire. Smoke escaped through holes in the roof made by pushing aside some of the cedar slats with long poles and bark was the principal fuel. The houses were sometimes divided into rooms by cattail mat partitions running the full width of the building. Bed platforms, one to two feet high and three to four feet wide, ran around the walls of each family section. In front of these were low platforms for seats, while above the beds were storage shelves reached by ladders. Every house had a central rack built to the height of the walls on which fish and roots were dried. Cattail mats lined the walls, lay on the floor, served as bedding, and were hung up as partitions. The houses were very smokey, usually smelled very strongly of fish, and because of their loose construction, were also rather drafty. Houses passed from father to son, and were burned or given away if the owner died in them.

Furniture:

Furniture in the shape of built-in platforms were a bed and seat in one. Usually these went around three sides of each family compartment. They were about two feet from the ground floor and two planks wide so that two people slept side by side. The bedding included mats piled for mattresses with smaller mats used for pillows or cushions and furs and bird skins for covers. Often there was a second bunk above the first or bunks might be slightly higher than the platform in front where the women could sit and work. All the extra space was packed tight with baskets and boxes; some were also in the upper bunks if these were not used and some were on shelves slung from the cross beams of the house. Often holes were dug in the earth under the lower row of bunks where food could be kept at an even temperature.

This meant combining cellar, attic and all the other rooms in one small compartment. It might have been untidy, but good homemakers had a place for everything. Even the cooking stones, tongs and boxes lying on the floor were as neatly arranged as in a modern kitchen cabinet. The place looked cozy for it was practically wall papered and carpeted with mats made of woven cattail reeds. These mats were used as carpets on the work platforms and as blankets

or spreads on the bunks. They hung over the shelves and wall cracks. New ones were used as table mats or for a guest to sit on. Of course they could not be washed, so women kept rolls of new ones ready for use. People judged a woman's wealth by her supply of mats, and she proudly showed rolls of extra mats which she kept ready for emergencies.

Plateau Region

The Plateau Indians of Eastern Washington generally lived in well-established winter villages in the warmer valleys on the banks of major waterways. Some of the villages consisted of permanent circular, earthen-roofed houses that were built partly underground or banked with earth against the cold. The more common winter home was a long lodge, so named for its architectural style of being longer than it was wide. Dimensions varied from 12 to 20 feet wide and 20 to 60 feet long. The long lodge was most typically covered with mats made from tule, cattail, reed or rushes but were also commonly covered with bark. Sometimes there may have been many layers of coverings which were alternated with layers of soil for insulation. The selection of covering was based solely on what was available at the site. This long lodge design allowed for a structure to be assembled to suit the requirements of the family or families who would be the occupants.

Tule Reed Mat House
(note stovepipes - early 1900s up to 1940s)

In the spring, those who left the village to collect vegetable foods prepared a shelter of mats if any protection from the elements was needed. Away from the winter sites, rather large fishing encampments were established using the long lodge style covered with mats.

The adaptation of the tipi occurred about the same time as the horse was introduced in the early 1700s. This temporary structure was cone-shaped and constructed with poles and animal skins. The peoples of the Plains developed the concept of the tipi with its skin covering for its adaptability to travel behind a horse via travois. This conical tipi shape was long in use in the Plateau region.

Canvas Tipis

As the seasonal cycle continued, the portable mat shelter was taken along until the arrival of fall marked their return to the winter village.

Interior Arrangements:

Furnishings tended to be very simple--there were no benches or storage shelves. Personal and family possessions were kept in the family sleeping area. In each lodge, an aisle extended down the middle. In the middle, fires were also kindled. Usually there would be two families for each fire. Those families occupied space opposite each other with the fire in the middle.

Sweatlodge/Sweathouse

Sweathouses were used daily and for special ceremonies. Their main functions were: (1) physical and spiritual cleansing and conditioning, (2) curing, and (3) recreation.

A fresh water stream, lake or river with an abundant supply of wood served as a good site for sweathouses. A lodge was built over ground which had been hollowed out toward the center and filled with rocks. Available materials near the streams were used; these being willow, and fir boughs for the floor and rocks at hand. Construction of the building proceeded when flexible saplings without branches were bent over the rock-filled excavation to form a high bow. The largest sapling was placed in the center with others of graduated sizes placed parallel to each other at equal distances until the saplings

took the shape of a half melon. Twigs were woven through the saplings to hold them in place. Permanent lodges were temorarily covered with animal skins or blankets, and sometimes reeds or rush mats were used. The Plateau people occasionally covered these structures with sod or earth.

Sweat baths were an important part of the Plateau Indians' hygiene and religion. Water was poured over the heated rocks causing steam that was considered a physical and spiritual purifier.

Sapling frame for sweathouse; Spokane, 1907

Spokane Sweathouse - 1907

CLOTHING

Coast and Puget Sound Region

Clothing was fairly well standardized in the Coastal and Puget Sound regions, although there were differences owing to changes in the weather or indicating social status. In mild seasons, men wore either nothing at all or a robe or a blanket thrown over the back and fastened across the chest with a string. The woman wore fiber skirts that were about knee length, strung on a cord and fastened with several rows of twining. Capes were made of shredded cedar bark and nettle cord twining. Clothing made from cattails was worn for wet work and in rainy weather. Hides were of little value in the rain as they easily became soaked. Since the raw materials for this clothing were so readily available, the clothing was discarded when it became dirty or torn. Upriver women whose husbands did a great deal of hunting had the same shaped skirt in buckskin. Most women had some sort of upper gament either for rain or for special occasions. This might be a short poncho or even a sleeveless jacket. Moccasins were not generally worn primarily because there was no need for them and also because they would stretch out of shape if they got wet and would shrink and harden as they dried. There was a type of moccasin worn during dry weather or on long journeys, but these were strictly utilitarian and not ornately decorated.

The woman illustrated on the right is dressed in cedarbark, with a twined rain cape and fringed skirt. Cedar bark clothing was very unusual. Bark was stripped from the cedar tree and was shredded, dried and softened. Then it was woven into fabric the same way wool is. The cedar bark is very light-weight but is rainproof. Sometimes cedar bark clothing was lined with fur to make it soft and warm and often beautiful designs woven into the garment.

Capes/Robes:

Men, women and children had raincapes and mantles. The rain capes usually made of pounded cedar bark were light, practical and excellent for repelling water. The Makah, who made so many cedarbark mats, also made finely woven checkerboard ponchos. Cold weather robes were made from almost any skin of bird or animal. Early explorers were amazed at the beautiful mantles of

lynx and sea otter worn by the Indians who came aboard their ships; and it was the sight of these furs which brought the white man to trade with the Native Americans.

Hunter's Clothing--Shirts, Leggings and Moccasins:

Cedarbark and fur were the clothing of seashore and downriver people. The upriver people, who hunted a great many deer, needed clothing made from animal hides for protection against the forest brush. The Indian hunter who lived on the slopes of the Cascades wore buckskin clothing most of the year.

Leggings were tubes of buckskin, sewn at the sides and sometimes fringed. Washington Indians wore theirs to mid-thigh and attached them to a belt with buckskin straps. Moccasins were made from one piece of undecorated deerskin with the fur inside.

Hats, Headgear and Hair Dressing:

The woven hats of the Northwest Coast were unique; they were worn only on the coast of Washington. They look so much like Chinese coolie hats that some students have wondered if they were copied from specimens washed up from shipwrecked junks in the years before white men arrived.

The illustration, from the Quinault, shows a complicated form, with the inner skull cap and outer cone-shaped hat joined at the top where the knob is.

For winter wear, people made caps of animal or bird skins. A loon skin made a handsome cap as did the raccoon with its tail hanging down the back of the head. Coast Indians generally held their flowing hair in place with a headband of fur, wool or cedarbark. Sometimes it was prettily woven like a packstrap. For ceremonies they might stick a few feathers in it but these stood upright in front or at the two sides. The headband was to keep the hair out of their eyes, for many people wore it loose, parted in the middle and with a streak of red ochre down the part on special occasions. Elders tell of a Quinault chief whose hair was so long that when he knelt in the canoe, the ends floated in the water.

Hair was washed in a solution of snowberries, vetch roots and other plants. The Puyallup used salmon eggs and also a tea of maidenhair fern which, it was said, kept the hair from falling out. Hair was combed with a finely polished carved wooden comb, about four inches wide and with teeth two or three inches long.

Ornaments, Paint, and Beauty/Personal Care:

People wore as many necklaces as they do at present and more earrings and other ornaments. A favorite necklace was the dentalium shell, gathered by the Indians of Vancouver Island. The dentalium shell is a slender white tusk an inch or two long and strings of them were used for money. A necklace long enough to hang to the knees was a sign of wealth. Other necklaces were made with beaver teeth, clamshells, slivers of blue-green abalone shell, or the curved brown bear claws.

Men and women both wore earrings, and men wore further ornaments. They had a hole through the nose and wore a dangling bit of abalone shell. If very rich, the man might have a hole in his lower lip where he wore a bit of shell or ivory; but this was not for common people.

Everyone painted themselves on dress occasions. Paint was made of colored powder, mixed with deer tallow or whale oil. It was not only decorative but it also kept the body warm and served as a sort of cold cream against chapping and windburn. The colors used were red, black and white.

Indians at the time of contact with white people were very healthy due to their well-balanced diet combined with plenty of exercise in the fresh outdoors, and they were especially careful of their appearance. From plants they made cosmetics and beauty aids. For example, sunburn lotion was made from sea lettuce, rose hips were eaten for sweet breath, and some women rubbed their bodies with the bedstraw plant to give themselves a sweet aromatic odor of perfume. Indian people always had plenty of water nearby, and they washed often using a soap made by brushing leaves of mock orange or boiled thimbleberry bark. After really dirty work such as digging in the ground for roots and bulbs or handling fish and game, they might scour themselves with cedar branches. There were separate bathing places in the river for men and women and everyone went to their respective locations as soon as they awakened.

Tattooing:

Tattooing was a permanent ornament. The general method of tattooing was to prick holes in the skin and then rub charcoal into them. This was done by an expert. Both men and women did tattooing and each expert had his favorite instrument which might be a sharpened bone or a thorn and his favorite kind of charcoal, devil's club, alder or dogwood.

Plateau:

Although the men hunted the animals and skinned them, it was the women's work to tan or cure the hides and sew them into clothing. The women spent many hours of the day making clothing for their families. Deer skins were the main material used and the curing process took many hours.

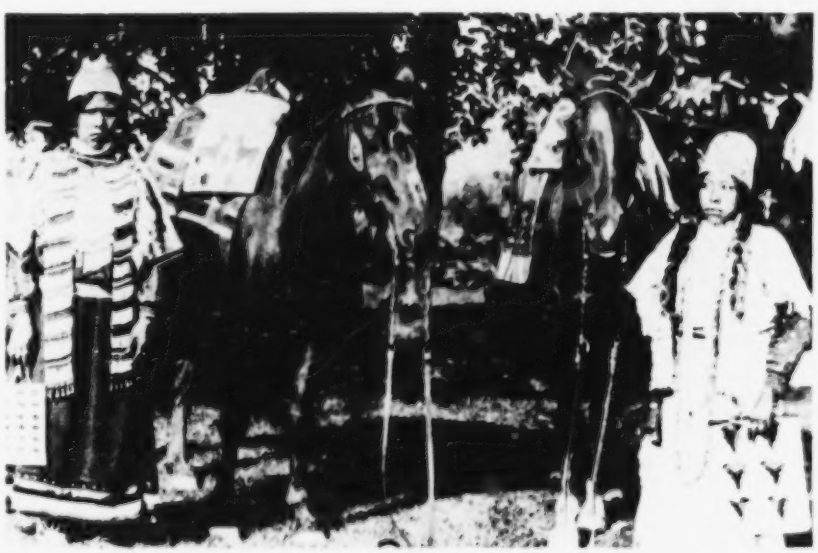
Deerskins were softened by soaking them in a mixture of water and deer brains. The skins were then stretched and scraped to remove the hair. Smoke from firs

or rotton cottonwoods gave the skins a yellow brown color. Repeated application of water kept the hides from drying out and becoming too stiff. Shirts, leggings and moccasins were made for the men, women and children by this process.

Thick layers of hides from buffalo and elk were used for warmth in winter. Wolf, fox, otter, coyote, beaver, mink, bear, goat, and groundhog skins were also used for clothing.

Plateau Indians wore a short shirt coming to the waist, not the hips. It was made of an oblong of deerskin with a hole for the head and sewed up at the sides. Sometimes short sleeves were sewed in and the seams were decorated with fringe. With this, the men often wore a skin apron or breechcloth, which is a narrow strip of buckskin passed between the legs and hanging over a belt in front and back. Leggings were also worn.

Children and adults dressed alike. The clothing of the Plateau people was similar to or only slightly varied from the clothing worn by the Plains Indians. Plateau Indians became aware of these styles and their decorative elements, especially after the introduction of the horse, when they made hunting forays or traded goods with their neighbors. Ceremonial clothing was generally decorated with porcupine quills and shells.



During traditional ceremonies, short feathered bonnets were worn. Later a more striking "Sioux bonnet" style made of eagle feathers was adopted (this was similar to the Sioux of the Dakotas). Various designs on the clothing represented dreams or visions or ideas akin to the guardian spirit of the Indian. Everyday wear was much less adorned.

Some tribes used the outer bark of sage brush and wove it into material for skirts for the women. The bark of willow and cedar trees was also used for skirt material.

Okanogan Man
(Photo courtesy of the Okanogan County Historical Society)

STAGES OF LIFE

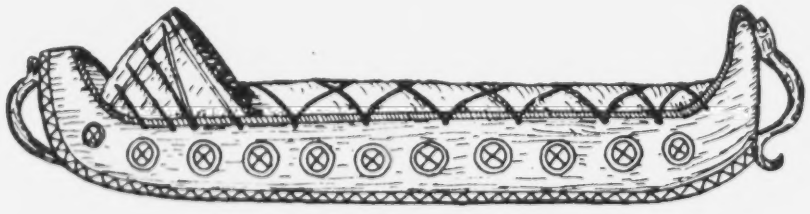
Baby Care:

Indian people took great care in raising their infants. They even had special baby doctors. This was not true in every tribe but, in many, there were men and women who had visions, teaching them how to treat infants' diseases. Some even understood the language of what was termed babyland. Babyland was the explanation given to account for the helplessness and danger of the first year of life. Baby souls, it was thought, had a land of their own, where they lived and played without adults. When an infant came to earth, he/she was still talking the language of this land, though they forgot it in time. If they liked the life on earth, they stayed to grow up and become adults. Their soul grew, too; and when they died, it went to the regular land of the dead. If they did not like the life on earth, their soul went back to babyland; and if parents were truly sorry about their loss and wanted another child, it might come to them again. This time, however, they would receive a baby of the opposite sex.

It was important, therefore, to keep a baby happy and to learn what he/she liked and disliked. The duty of the "child specialist" was to interpret their wants. Sometimes the specialist told the parents that the infant did not like the name they had given them. Or he knew that some ceremony was being conducted incorrectly. The specialist also ordered, as modern doctors do, that the child must be kept away from others who were ill. A sick child might tell another in baby language: "I am not happy here. Let us go back to babyland." (It had been noticed that when one infant died, several others often died, too.) The child specialist told the parents the home must be kept happy, because quarreling and unkind thoughts could make a baby ill.

Infancy:

The baby spent the first year of his life on a cradleboard and/or blanket. In Pat Noel's Muckleshoot Indian History, she writes that for the first few months of life a child was carried by the mother in a blanket or shawl tied around her back or front (similar to a sling) and that as more Yakima influence came to Muckleshoot, the cradleboard was introduced and used. The



Cradle carved out of a cedar log with carved decorations

boards were of various shapes and some were made of basketry, some of wood. Indians of the Northwest preferred their favorite cedar wood. They used a section of slender trunk and hollowed it out like a canoe or a wooden serving dish. Then they filled it with shredded cedar bark. In this, the naked baby was bedded as carefully as a jewel. His feet were placed higher than his head, since this was good for digestion. There were pads under neck and knees and most important of all, a pad across his forehead.

The pad across his forehead was for beauty purposes. The baby was to grow up with a forehead that was broad and flat, rising to a peak at the top of the head. This was done by using a pad of soft cedarbark, with a board over it which was strapped across the forehead. If left there for the first few months, while the bones were soft, this slow pressure over a period of time set the forehead in the right shape without hurting the child. Mothers did this as dutifully as modern mothers put braces on a child's teeth. Otherwise the little one would have a head "like a rock". The broad forehead and the cone-shaped head were a mark of high class.

Contemporary Cradle Board

Every day the baby was taken out for bathing and massage. After the baby had been cleaned, he/she was rubbed with oil made from whale or dogfish or a kind of crane which they killed for oil. For baby powder,willow ash or red ochre was used. A mother massaged her baby's arms and legs so they would be straight and his ears so they would not stick out. She would even pinch its nose into the high narrow shape they preferred.

The cradleboard was a practical arrangement for a mother as she could take the baby with her when she went about doing her daily work. She could pick up the board quickly if she needed to without fear of hurting the child's delicate spine and lean it against a tree or rock while she worked. When moving about, she wore the board strapped across her shoulder by a long cord.

Toddler & Young Child:

When the baby was ready to walk, he/she left the cradleboard, except at night and when napping. When children were this old they were left at home with their grandparents who delighted in taking care of them. Old people of the village played with the children for this was one of the pleasures of age. They sang songs which, gently or jokingly, relayed to the child what he/she was supposed to do when they grew up. Life in these early years was all affection, for people felt that a child was not ready to understand much until he was five or six. When five or six, they left their grandparents and went around after their father or mother learning to do grown-up tasks. At this age the grandfather might make the boy a bow and arrow for shooting at small birds, and the grandmother proudly wove the little girl's first berry basket.

Similar to children of today, they would grow to adulthood, and they had to be prepared for life in the hard world. They were taught not to cry for food and to eat what was given them, even though the priority was on feeding elders. The best food was reserved for old people. Indian children were taught not to make noise in the house and not to interrupt older people. Children were told that those who did might lose their souls. They were also taught respect for their elders and to have pride in themselves. Discipline was carefully administered. When they disobeyed very badly, the child might be spanked using a switch; but the parents had a better means of discipline. Coastal children were told that there was a Cannibal Woman, carrying a basket on her back, who carried off bad children to be cooked and eaten. The Puyallups actually dressed up someone to represent her. When she came stomping around the village, parents pleaded with her for the naughty ones, promising that they would be sure to improve. Rarely was it necessary to physically punish a child. Primarily, many stories and legends, most of which had a moral, were used to teach children about their environment as well as lessons regarding appropriate moral behavior. Children were raised with love and the knowledge of what was expected of them and proper behavior was the usual result.

At about age six, children began a course of training that amounted to school. Its chief purpose was to prepare them for the spirit help that every boy and some girls, too, would need in later life. Without spirit help, no boy could hope to be a good woodworker, fisherman, hunter, whaler, medicine man, or even a gambler. To obtain spiritual guidance he must learn to go without food, to endure discomfort and cold, and to be clean.

Older relatives and neighbors could always take time to have a child underfoot. Little girls played in the berry patch and boys scrambled after their fathers through the woods. They were not told much about how things should be done but they watched others and tried to copy behavior for themselves. When they failed, they were not scolded; but when they succeeded, there was high praise. When a boy caught his first fish or a little girl first filled her basket with berries some tribes gave a feast for every "first." The food they brought in was proudly given to old people who could not work for themselves; because the child was told that if they were selfish and kept it, they might never catch anything again. This was indeed good training for generosity in later life. As the children grew, so did the amount of responsibility given to them. Young girls helped the women of the tribe gather and prepare food,

tend the fire as well as play and help with the younger children; and boys also accompanied the men and helped them with their work. By the age of ten or so their efforts really counted. It was time for them to have a name.

Naming:

Most Indian people had various names during the course of their life because it changed from time to time. A man was more likely to make a change if his family were rich and able to celebrate each occasion with a feast. Names were family property, either in the father's line or the mother's. Each was borne by only one person at a time and after his/her death it was not mentioned for some years. When naming time came there was a feast and gifts, but these were not for the child. These gifts were given to others in his honor while he learned that giving presents to others was the road to fame and fortune.

Marriage:

Suitors proposed to a girl's father, who carefully looked into their families and income. The boy's family was just as particular. They wanted to know if the proposed bride was their social equal, if she was well-behaved and what gift of money would go with her when she married.

A daughter's wedding was a father's chance to make one of the great shows of his lifetime. No wonder he began to collect goods for it as soon as she was born. All through the girl's childhood he was giving feasts. His aim was to establish such a reputation that suitors would come from afar to offer for his daughter. Attracting potential suiters from outside the tribe was very important because marrying any close relative was forbidden and tribes were so small that most people in them were related. Also, girls marrying into other tribes prevented war.

Daughters sometimes eloped, but elopements were rare, for both of the young people knew how unhappy their future together might be, spending the rest of their lives in the same house with a disapproving family. Every girl, too, looked forward to the impressive wedding she would have.

The Coastal Wedding:

Weddings were a time for feasting and gift giving, and in wealthy families the celebration never lasted less than three or four days. The groom's family came to the bride's village singing their inherited songs and bringing food and the last of the bride gifts that had been agreed upon prior to the marriage. They were escorted to the house where everyone feasted and the old men of both families made speeches, telling of the families' greatness and advising the bride and groom about proper behavior.

Sometimes feats of strength were held in which the bridegroom and his relatives showed how good they were. The Lummi had the bride sit on a pile of gifts while costumed dancers performed around her.

The departure of the bride was the high point of the marriage celebration. She was escorted to the beach by the men of her family, carrying gifts and singing. The groom and his family waited in their canoes. For a wealthy bride, the road to the beach was spread with fine furs so that her feet did not touch the ground. Then the furs were bundled up and put in the groom's canoe, and the groom and his family paddled away singing while the bride's parents stood weeping on the beach.

When the wedding party was gone, the bride gifts were distributed, with the bride's father keeping very little of the bride price for himself. The same thing occurred in the groom's family--of the wedding gifts exchanged, there was very little left for the young couple, but then they would not be setting up housekeeping alone.

The bride soon found herself living in another large house, much like the one she had left. During the first year of her marriage, she spent her days with her husband's mother and sisters much as she had with the women of her own family. Still, there were priveleges that went along with being a married woman. For example, she could now go out alone; and she could also speak to men. She ought to be a good basket maker; then if her husband were away often, she would have her work to keep her busy.

Soon she would be faced with the strange rules that must be obeyed before having a child. Then after the first baby was born and safely tied into its cradleboard, there was the visit home in the canoes full of singing people, or else the welcoming of her family to her new village. The proud young mother could feel it was because of her that her family could establish this new friendship.

After the young couple had had a child or two, they moved out of the family compartment into one of their own. They were grown up. The young man might have his place in a whaling canoe or his section of the salmon weir, and his wife went on long food-gathering trips without her mother-in-law. The older woman was now at home, taking care of the grandchildren.

Old Age, Death and Funerals:

Life slowly melded into old age, but the elder members of the community were never considered useless or rejected people. Elders were respected, contributing persons in their society. They were the school teachers of their village. Grandparents played an integral and important part in child rearing, and an old man was regularly appointed to train the youngsters. Elders told the stories and legends, remembered the relationships, advised in the proper conduct of ceremonies and, as their wisdom was well respected, they were often consulted on many various matters. When someone must be chosen to make a proposal of marriage or to plead with a quarreling couple, it was always an old man who had the time and experience for the task.

The old, both men and women, acted as caretakers of the little children. They played with them and sang to them by the hour, showing far more affection than they had had time for with their own babies. When the little grandson and

granddaughters performed their first achievements, it was for the old to praise and encourage them. Nor were the elders left out of social occasions. In fact, they often sang and danced more than anyone.

As soon as a man ceased to work, he usually turned over his canoe or his hunting dogs to a son or other relative. Before death, he told his family what to do with his wealth not already distributed at feasts. His personal property, they knew, would go to the grave with him. Beyond the grave, he would become a different person and one whom they did not dare to remember. It was not that the dead were evil, but they thought that all adults went to the land of the dead which was a comfortable place, with plenty to eat.

The last rites were conducted in several different ways, and the relatives showed their grief openly. Silence was not their way of showing grief; they wailed and chanted sometimes for five days while the soul of the deceased was on its journey to the land of the dead. Widows and widowers usually mourned for a year.

BUSINESS

Indians in Washington depended upon an economic barter system so that their goods, whether they were dried roots from the Plateau or decorative shells from the Coast, were produced, traded and consumed. Because of the natural resources of the Columbia and Fraser River systems, barter and trade thrived throughout the three culture areas.

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

In discussing family life, we need to mention whether a family was rich or poor. The first family was that of the "chief." Below the chief was a group of richer family heads. These were similar to the nobles of Europe; or more like the millionaires of America, who have no titles but rise to power because they are rich. When the money goes, the family is forgotten. Indians rose to power through their own efforts. Women collected and dried fish and roots and made sufficient blankets and baskets to trade. Men might be skilled woodworkers, harpooners or elk hunters. These last three professions were considered so important that many tribes reserved them for the wealthiest families.

Gambling was almost a business which might compare more to the present day stock exchange. Men obtained spirit power for it, and they played representing their village against another village. Their fellow citizens invested by betting on them much as investors buy stocks. A gambler could win a fortune for himself and his friends, or he could lose possessions, even selling himself into slavery. Some tribes had names for four classes: chiefs, rich, ordinary men, and poor. The poor had much less than others, but they could fish and harvest roots and berries so they would not go hungry.

Plateau Region

For the Plateau Indians, an interesting part of their life was the unstratified or unlayered society which existed. Emphasizing the equality of man, it can be said that this trait was an important part of their tribal lives. It was a concept actively and constantly practiced and supported. Well-paid shamans might accrue riches, but they earned respect for their healing powers not for their affluence. All adult residents of a village--men and women alike, and even new-comers--automatically enjoyed the rights of citizenship, membership in the general assembly, voting, holding office, and participating in all activities.

Individual effort was acknowledged and did not go unrewarded and certainly there were personal possessions; but with everyone assured the necessities of life, few had any urge to be acquisitive.

Trade-Shell Money

There was some trade going on all the time. Upriver people would come down in shovel nose canoes or walk over the mountain passes, shouldering their valuable

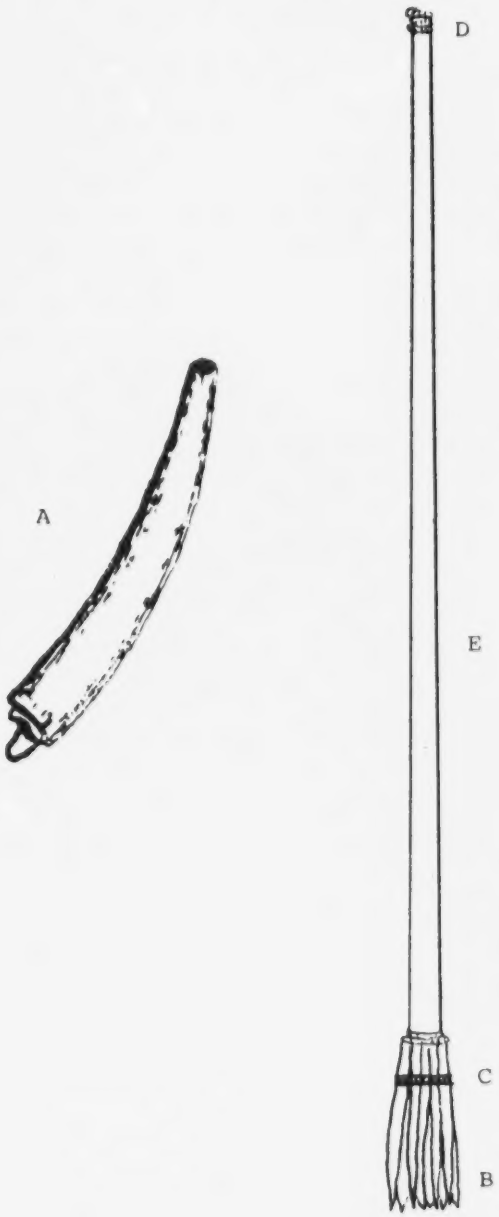
mountain sheepskins, sheep horns and buckskin. Downriver people arrived with dried seafood to trade as well as imported goods--Indians from the north (what we now call Canada) such as the Nootka, Kwakiutl or Bella Coola had visited their coastal villages in large canoes to trade their handsome wood carvings and sometimes the unique shells used as money.

Dentalium is the scientific name for these slender little white shells, and Indians called them "money beads." They were an inch or two long, and they made a pretty necklace. Being hard to get, the supply was limited; and their collecting was regulated so they would keep their value. They were found only in the deep water off Vancouver Island where they, or the little sea creatures inside, clung upright to the rocks. The Nootka went out in canoes and laboriously fished them up, then they traded them up and down the coast. Even the Indians of Northern California imported their shell money all the way from Vancouver Island.

Illustration of Dentalium or "Shell Money"

(A) is the dentalium shell as it grows under water on the rocks. It slants about as shown, the small projection at the bottom being the "foot" by which the animal attaches itself to the rock. (D) is the implement with which the Nootka pulled up the shells. It had a wooden handle (E) 10 or more feet long with a number of slender wooden slats (B) attached at its bottom like a broom. When not in use, the slats were kept close together by a ring of cedarbark rope, (C).

The shell fishers paddled their canoe to a point over the shell bed and let down this "broom." As it went down, the pressure of the water forced the ring up, off the slats. They separated and could then be pressed down over the shell bed, catching any shells which were in their way and pulling them loose. The broom was then drawn up and the pressure of the water as it rose forced the ring down, holding the slats together. This is a most ingenious way of using natural forces to perform a very complicated movement.



We have spoken of shell money because that was the common term, but it is not really accurate (nor, by the way, is wampum, for that means the clamshell token system of eastern seaboard tribes). Dentalium was, indeed, used in exchange but so were skins, slaves and blankets. The shells were strung in lengths of about 6 feet. The fine, two-inch shells, which were the most valuable, ran about 40 to the string; smaller ones ran 60 to the string. One string, some authorities say, was worth a slave.

The strings were mixed with beads and worn as ornaments. Then a man wanting to trade or gamble had his money at hand. Inland and upriver people rarely acquired the good quality shells which the coast dwellers liked to keep for themselves. They used them mostly for ornament; one could tell a necklace from across the mountains by the small and broken shells.

The far north tribes brought dentalium, slaves, dogfish oil, carved dishes, and the big, handsome canoes, their edges inlaid with shells. They traded them with the Makah for whale oil and dried halibut. They took the goods down to the Quinault and traded for sea otter skins or perhaps to the Chinook for dried shellfish and Columbia River salmon. The Chinook, however, did not trade only their own products. They were at the mouth of the Columbia River, a great water highway, stretching far up into the fur country. Hunters came down all the little streams to paddle down the Columbia and, at last, leave their goods with the Chinook. For this reason the Chinook became the greatest traders of all the Indians. They received goods from the north and west, and sometimes they traveled to get them in their own sea-going canoes. Little by little they impressed their language on all the other tribes. No one knows when the "Chinook Jargon" came into use, but it was first noticed about 1810.

Chinook Jargon:

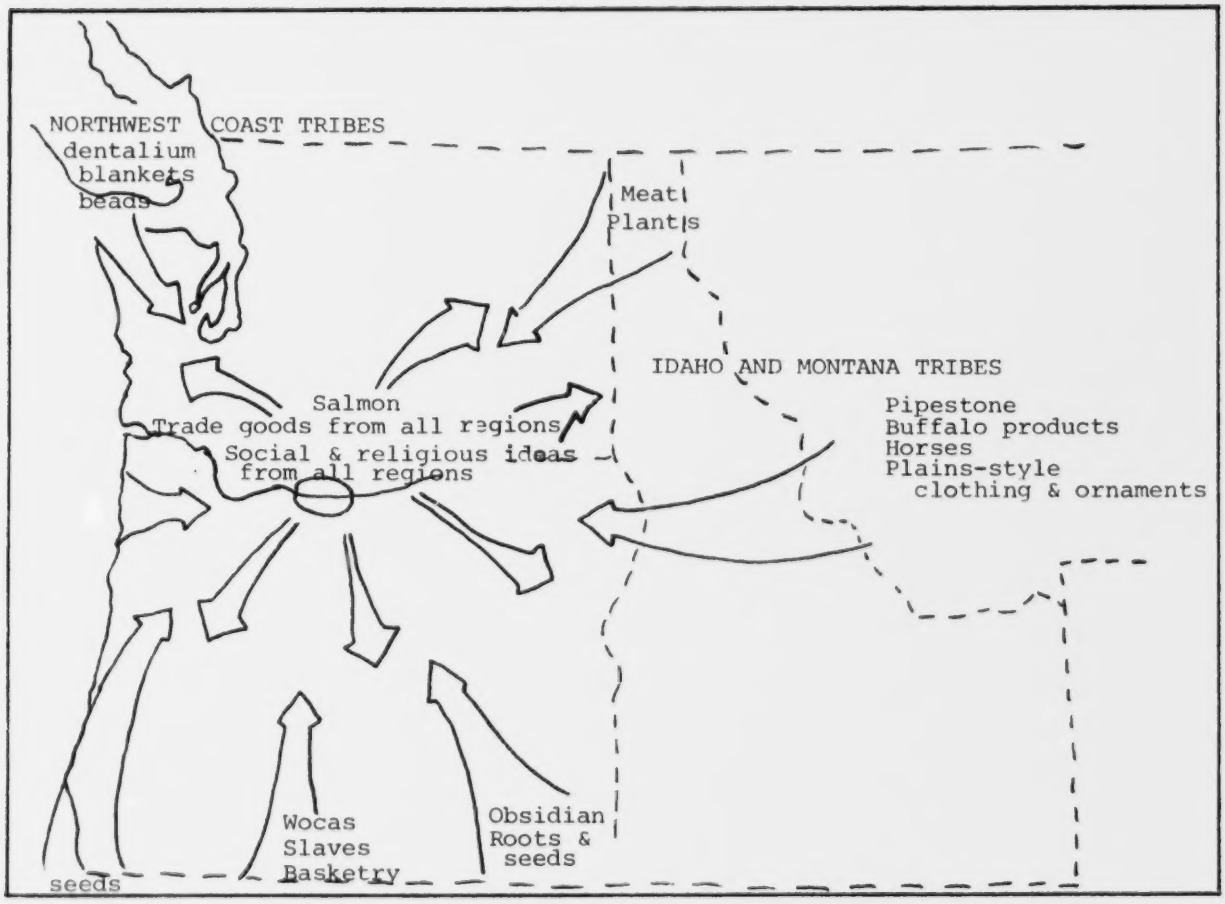
The Indian trade and communication language of the Columbia River region and the adjacent Pacific Coast was known as "Chinook Jargon." It was first brought to public notice in the early days of the Oregon fur trade, about 1810. In addition to the Indian elements, it has also incorporated numerous words from various European languages, but there can be no doubt that the jargon existed as an intertribal medium of communication long before the advent of the whites, having its parallel in the so-called "Mobilian language" of the Gulf tribes and the sign language of the plains, all three being the outgrowth of an extensive aboriginal system of intertribal trade and travel. The Indian foundation of the jargon is the Chinook proper, with Nootka, Salish and other languages to which were added, after contact with the fur companies, corrupted English, French and, possibly, Russian terms. The following table shows the share of certain languages in the jargon at various periods of its existence, although there are great differences in the constituent elements of the jargon as spoken in different parts of the country.

Words Contributed	1841	1863	1894
Nootka	18	24	23
Chinook Jargon	111	221	198
English	71	67	570
French	34	94	153
Other Languages	48	79	128

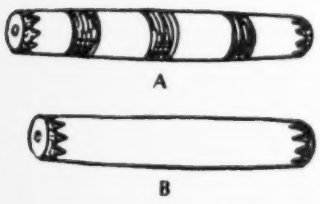
There is much local variation in the way the Chinook Jargon was spoken in the Pacific Northwest. It was "created" so people could speak to one another no matter what their native language was. Nowhere else in history is there a record of a new language being made up by people just so they could speak to one another on special occasions. That makes the Chinook Jargon unique.

This jargon has been of great service to both the Indian and the white man, and its role has been important in the development of intertribal and interracial relations on the North Pacific coast. However, the use of this trading jargon made up of about 300 words to conduct legal matters and transactions during the treaty making period of the 1800s often caused much confusion which the courts are, even today, trying to translate and interpret. That no one today speaks the jargon further exacerbates the problem.

The Chinook zone ended at the Dalles, the 15-mile stretch of rapids where canoe travel in both directions had to stop. Here lived the last of the Chinook-speaking tribes, the Wishram, and every year they held a huge market or fair. The Yakimas held a similar one in the Plateau region, where 6,000 Indians might camp in a circle six miles around. The people from the wet country met those from the dry country and exchanged goods from as far east as North Dakota and as far north as Alaska.



Indian Trade Network at the Dalles & Celilo Falls (1750-1850)



These cylinders, from the Twana are 2 1/2 inches long, and about 1 1/2 inches thick, bulging at the middle. The black decoration is made by engraving with a pointed stone tool, then filling the lines with soot. It varies according to the skill of the maker, but The Man (A) must always have a belt of decoration around the middle while The Woman (B) has none. Some tribes merely tie a piece of string or sinew around The Man. Some play with four cylinders instead of two, two men hiding and two guessing at the same time. Some use only one cylinder, guessing which hand holds it.

The game is for a man to hold one or two cylinders in his closed fists and move his hands rapidly, exchanging the cylinders, while his side usually sings to confuse the opponents. The latter guess where The Woman is, and at each wrong guess they lose a point. At the first right guess they begin hiding the bones, though sometimes this is done only after three right guesses are made in succession. Points are scored by tally sticks of which each side has ten, twelve, or twenty. The sticks are about ten inches long, with pointed ends and may be painted or carved. When one side has all the sticks, the game is won. Sometimes to start the game, both sides hide and both guess, and the one that guesses right hides first. If it is a tie, they hide again.

Usually men played this game with men while the women played it separately with other women.

Hand Game - Plateau Region
(Photo courtesy Spokane Public Library)

THE FEAST SYSTEM

Washington State Indians combined their religious and social gatherings into what we call festivals. These festivals were a time to get together, to give thanks to their creator, to feast, to establish and strengthen social ties, and to have fun.

Potlatch (Coastal and Puget Sound Regions)

Potlatch gift-giving feasts were held by all the tribes, although they were not as highly formalized among the Northwest Coast tribes. Northwest Coast peoples defined themselves by property--namely, what he owned, had inherited and created or acquired through other potlatches. The word "potlatch" comes from the Chinook word "patshall" which means "gift" or "to give." Possessions included the hunting, fishing and gathering territories he controlled, the goods his village produced, the objects he previously acquired from rival hosts and--most important in some respects--his intangible possessions such as the right to display a certain crest or totem. Myths and dances, as well, were considered exclusive property.

Gifts were given and feasts were held to mark special occasions such as marriages, puberty rites, the giving of a new name, when the annual salmon run begins, at death, at reburial, after a good hunt, upon return from the Indian markets, or at meetings with outsiders; and a major potlatch might last several days and involve years of planning. Potlatches distributed real property; i.e., surplus food, blankets, copper shields, cedar bark or cattail mats, canoes, slaves, carved items, etc., to mark the transfer of intangible property such as names, crests, dances, songs, legends, and chants which were owned by families. Crests were hereditary privileges such as guardian spirits, special names, initiation into certain secret societies with the right to perform dances or other ceremonies, and family histories. Gift giving at a potlatch was an important way Northwest Coast families showed how much power, status and riches they had; it was also an effective way of sharing those riches and establishing social ties.

Some potlatches were held in large houses especially built for them. At large potlatches entire tribes came to visit and to give and receive presents, with the host always outdoing his guests. Between meals, guests and the host danced and sang, usually the songs taught to them by their spirit helpers while outside, the young men wrestled or held a tug-of-war. Sometimes they played shinny on a mile-long stretch of beach with a wooden ball and long, curved sticks of vine maple. Or canoe races might be held on the smooth water of the river at high tide. They came back ravenous for the daily feasts and sometimes they held an eating contest.

Finally came the last day when the gifts were to be given out. This was the great moment of the feast giver--the time when he made his speech and sang his songs. There is no doubt but this was one of the grandest moments of a man's life. As governed by protocol, gifts were presented in amounts or values that varied according to the rank of the recipient and were distributed in the

order of rank. It was an insult to give a gift of less value than the rank of the recipient entitled him to receive. The more the host gave, the more important everyone thought him to be. Sometimes the family would work and save for a year to make sure they had enough to give away to all the guests; and sometimes they had very little or nothing left for themselves when the potlatch was over. But, before a year passed, each guest had to give back twice as much goods as this host had given to him. So, before long, the host was rich again. Honor was very important to the Indians; and to keep your honor when you received gifts at a potlatch, you were expected to repay the giver by putting on another potlatch and giving gifts that were of greater value than those you had received. If you were unable to, you lost your honor; and persons complaining that they didn't receive as much or more than he had given, would be ridiculed for being so greedy.

After the distribution of gifts, the guests went home. As they departed in their canoes, they sang goodbye.

With a few feasts like this behind him, a man could be sure of his position among the wealthy and influential. He would be also be assured of the best possible start for his children, who would not otherwise be worthy of wealthy visions and of good marriages. If he thought of building a new house, he could get people to help him; and if there was doubt as to who should be the next chief, a man of such wealth, status and energy would have the best chance.

During the early contact period with Europeans, the focus of the potlatches shifted with the transferring of rights and crests, themselves, becoming less important than the value and quantity of property that was distributed to validate them. As the interest in social status and financial worth increased, the potlatches grew larger and a greater variety of goods, including European goods, were given away. Early Europeans eager to encourage the fur trade with local tribes also participated in potlatches distributing such items as Hudson's Bay blankets, jewelry, musical instruments, clothing, furniture and sacks of flour.

As more Europeans arrived following the original fur traders, permanent settlements were established and the power and influence of these white settlers increased. These later arrivals, not understanding the significance of this ceremony, did not approve of potlatches since they felt the Indians spent too much time preparing for feasts and that they should learn to save things for themselves rather than give them away. In Canada, the whites outlawed potlatches and Indians were arrested and put in jail for holding them. Today, however, Indians are reviving the traditional potlatch custom and non-Indians are more understanding of the reasons and purpose of the potlatch. Not only is this ceremony important for passing on rights and wealth, but it also gathers people together and unifies them.

First Salmon Ceremony (Coastal, Puget Sound and Plateau Regions)

Indian ceremonies and religious practices were closely linked to seasonal cycles. A ceremony over the first salmon taken in a run of a fishing expedition was an important event celebrated by Indians in all three culture areas

within Washington. Throughout each area there were special attitudes and behavior toward the fish.

In detail there were almost infinite variations of this ceremony, but the basic procedure for the first salmon was followed. The salmon caught was carried back home by the fisherman and laid aside for special preparation. Generally, the wife would then prepare the fish in a customary fashion taught to her by the Salmon Chief for the First Salmon Ceremony. The Salmon Chief also directed and controlled the rituals of the ceremony. Everyone in the village attended the feast and said prayers. Then the bones of the salmon were carefully returned to the water, making sure the head was pointed upstream. The rite not only insured the salmon run to everyone but made the fishing stage at which the salmon was caught particularly lucky.

The spring or chinook salmon, the first run of the year, came in for special regard; and the Indian people were very particular about how this fish was caught. No one could talk casually or carelessly about it. In rivers in which several species ran, the first of each species might be given identical treatment, or the earliest species might receive the most elaborate attention while the others would receive less elaborate handling. All were treated with respect.

Although today the ceremony is only practiced in its ritual form on special occasions, it still symbolizes the special relationship Indian people have with salmon and with fishing. Some tribes that have a first salmon ceremony in present times are the Lummi, Puyallup, Skokomish, and Tulalip.

First Root Festival (Plateau Region)

In the Plateau area, First Root ceremonies were conducted in the spring of each year, perhaps in late March or early April. Before gathering the first roots, the Indians fasted and purified themselves by sweating. The sacred root festival ceremony occurs after the first roots are harvested, and the event is a solemn occasion.

The women of the tribe prepare the roots for the ceremonial meal. Although the men of the tribe do not do any of the cooking, they do help prepare the venison (deer) meat for the festival. The roots of the bitterroot and camas are the main dishes.

Sacred mats were always used during the root festival feast. These mats were used only for the festival and placed on the ground where the meals were eaten. The serving of food on the ground was symbolic of the gathering of roots from the Earth.

GOVERNMENT

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

On the Northwest Coast, "tribe" is a term used by anthropologists to define linguistic groups of native people with some measure of similar customs and cultural features. Indian tribes located in the Coastal and Puget Sound Region were made up of several villages each of which had a head chief. The word "chief" is another which should be defined. A chief is popularly thought of as being very much the ruler of his people. The United States Government representatives who proposed treaties thought they needed only the chief's signature, and they could never understand why he did not make his people obey. It took these government representatives a long time to learn that there were few Indian groups in America, large or small, where the people obeyed only one man. A village might have two "chiefs" if it had two rich men. When a leader died, people often looked to the same wealthy family for a successor. If the oldest son seemed able, they would follow him; but if he was not chosen as the leader, the people might turn to a younger son or a brother of the dead man. The man selected need not be a war leader. In the first place, he must have people's respect or they would not follow him at all. He must be able to see both sides of a quarrel because one of his main duties would be arbitrating and making decisions in such cases. He often could not enforce these decisions, though, so he must know how to persuade and argue until they were accepted.

All the expenses for celebrations, charity and entertaining visitors had to come out of some private source; and, by custom, this was the chief's. It was he who gave the feasts, and he usually had an extra large house built for that purpose. The chief opened his house to strangers visiting the village, at least if they were of a high class. He took care of the poor, old people or orphans--he did not support them but gave them gifts and at least saw that they had enough to eat. If someone in the village committed an offense and had to pay a fine, it was the chief who helped them. Some tribes gave him a share of the elk killed, the fish caught, etc., which might count as informal taxes.

Plateau Region

Most Plateau groups were not ruled by one man but were governed by a council of men and women. Their political and social structures were similar in many ways, primarily through ties of blood, mutual interest and dialects. The aboriginal organization of the Plateau was thoroughly democratic in all aspects. The normal order of chieftainship was hereditary, beginning with son, brother, or brother's son. If he had wisdom, honesty, bravery, warring abilities, oratory skills, and physical appearance, this person had a strong chance of becoming a chief. Whenever more than one person was eligible, the assembly selected one of the number by acclamation or voice vote.

Each large village had its own chief and the leader of a tribe. A chief who moved permanently from the village in which he held office lost his position

and the assembly selected a new chief from among the village residents. Even a newcomer to a village was eligible for election as chief. A man was not more apt to receive the office because of his possession of wealth. The informal gifts that a chief received kept him from poverty but seldom made him a rich man because he often gave away more than he received. When a tribe divided into smaller groups for the seasonal trips, a sub-chief was in charge of each party.

The chief was a leader, counselor and judge. His principal duties were (1) arbitration of disputes, (2) to give advice and (3) to set an example by his good behavior. He directed the movements of his people, attempted to guide their actions in a manner he thought wise. Also, he guided over the Council of Assembly.

Through the Assembly, all major issues and many minor ones were brought by the chief to the Assembly for discussion and decision. All adults, male and female, were entitled to speak as long as they desired on each subject and the decision was made by vote of the entire body.

Voting was done in the Assembly when everyone was ready. When the vote was finally taken, however, it mattered not how the house was divided. Whatever the proportional numbers might have been as exhibited during the discussions, the final vote was unanimous. Voting was done by acclamation.

TRANSPORTATION

Coastal and Puget Sound Region

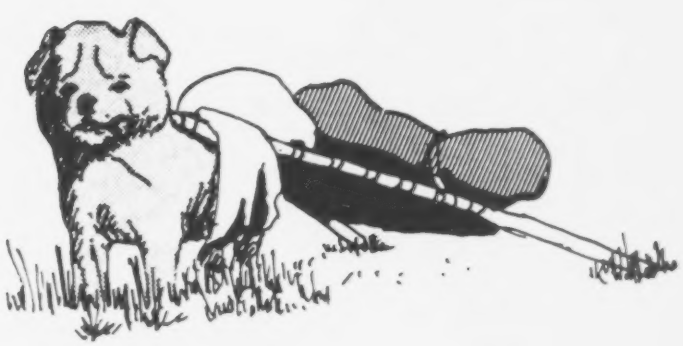
Dense forests made inland travel difficult, but there were plenty of rivers and streams in this region; and the Indian people who lived there used these waterways like roads. Indian villages were always located near a stream or river, thus, people from many different tribes traveled these waterways in dugout canoes, most of which were made out of cedar trees. These canoes were very important for hunting, fishing and traveling. Canoes were made in a variety of shapes and sizes depending upon what they would be used for. The blunt- or shovel-nosed canoe was adapted well to river travel or to cross lakes, while the large ocean-going canoes were designed for travel through the rough water and waves on the open ocean.

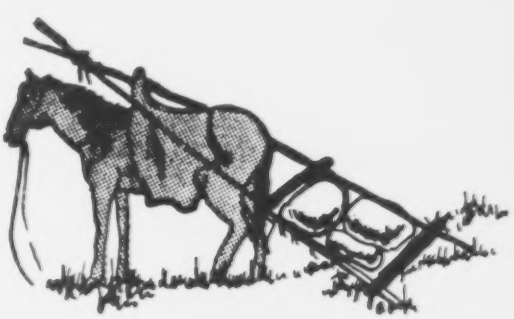
Horses were introduced into the Puget Sound region in the eighteenth century.

Plateau Region

The Plateau Indians relied on walking, the use of snow shoes, various types of canoes along the main river route, and the uses of the dog, before the arrival of the horse around 1730.

Horses greatly increased the Plateau Indians' mobility, and they became very skilled horsemen. There were many advantages to using the horse. It transported the Indians and their possessions, was used to hunt and gather food (including buffalo), was ridden to war against their enemies, and it took part in recreational activities. The horse (and dog) would drag a travois (two poles of unequal length connected by a mat or hide). Possessions were carried on the travois. The poles, being of different lengths, did not bounce at the same time when dragged across rough or bumpy ground. This caused the travois to ride a bit more smoothly.





Travois

THE SPIRITS/RELIGION/HEALING

Readers should know that American Indians, in general, viewed spiritual guidance in a manner discussed in this section. Views of spirit power varied throughout the Pacific Northwest, and this unit is an attempt to provide a general overview of a belief system.

Spirit power greatly influenced the lives of Indian people. They saw evidence of it in every happening--funny, commonplace, as well as important events. Everything in their environment had life or a spirit; the earth, the wind, the rocks, trees, ferns, as well as birds and animals had a spirit, a language, a song, and a name of its own. The Indians believed that spirits controlled nature just as spirits within human beings control human actions.

Indian people respected spirit power and held various ceremonies to honor them. The "first salmon ceremony," which marked the return of spawning salmon each spring, is an excellent example of this; because, if angered or offended, the spirit controlling salmon would cause a failure of the season's run of fish. The effect of this would be devastating since salmon was a main staple of their diet as well as a basis for commerce and trade.

There is disagreement among scholars about whether Indian people believed in an all-powerful spirit or supreme being. This disagreement occurs not only among the missionaries and teachers who knew the Indian people and wrote about their lives and culture early in the contact period, but also among anthropologists and mythologists who have studied Indian myths and rituals in more recent years.

Tyhee Sahale and Sahale Tyee (Tyee meaning "chief" and Sahale meaning "up above") are terms often found in stories recorded by pioneers. They were the words in the Chinook Jargon, the trade language between Indians and later between whites and Indians, that missionaries used for Christian concepts of God. In some stories, it is not clear whether the "Great Spirit" (or Tyhee Sahale) was the chief of the sky spirits, some other powerful spirit, or a native concept of a supreme being. The "Great Spirit," or the "Great White Spirit," occasionally referred to by today's storytellers seems to be a blending of aboriginal concepts with the Christian idea of God.

Legends

In each village there lived at least one old man who could recite the tales or legends through which valuable lessons on the appropriate way for people to live and act were imparted, and they were told on rainy winter nights when people stayed inside their homes. The teller acted out these legends, raising his voice to a squeak as he imitated one character; growling, roaring or weeping for others. His listeners had to pay close attention as there were many lessons to be learned through the stories; and sometimes the speaker's last word or a whole sentence were repeated by those listening to prove they were paying attention.

Many of these legends taught the tribe's formal laws and the repercussions if broken, while others taught moral ethics. There are legends that teach about bravery, goodness, strength, and that elders must be honored and helped whenever possible. There are also legends which teach about such undesirable traits as greediness, selfishness or boastfulness as well as stories which explain how a lake developed or the origin of a mountain.

Acquiring Power

Both men and women could acquire spirit power if successfully completing a long ritual that occurred when they became adults. These rituals and the accompanying ceremonies varied from tribe to tribe. There were, of course, certain ways for a person to acquire supernatural power or what is called a tutelary or guardian spirit.

Usually, a young man would train rigorously for a solitary vision quest, one that took place in a remote area. For women, power was acquired sometimes by dreaming, having an unusual experience, or even through inheritance from a grandmother. Not all people were successful in seeking a tutelary or helping spirit even after numerous attempts, which indicates that it was often a difficult process.

The Indian Doctor

Indians believed the strongest spirits of all to be connected with disease, and this was primary to their faith. Although they were concerned with the symptoms of different ailments and their cure, they thought that it was of the utmost importance to determine their cause. This must have to do with spirit power. The Indian doctor could discover the truth through prayer and speaking to his/her own spirit helper. To cure illness he must have spirit help of several different kinds.

There were two primary types of Indian doctors--those who held supreme powers in the arts of clairvoyance, the curing of the sick and controlling the ghosts and shadows of men (these were usually men), and those of lesser powers (usually women) who concerned themselves with minor illnesses as well as women who practiced midwifery.

Curing spirits were always magical beings, invisible to all but their owners. It was believed that disease originated as an evil spirit which could fly through the air, and some could lodge in the bodies of other men, causing pain, suffering and even death. The spirit's power made them dangerous, and the doctor, himself, sometimes feared what they could make him do. The doctor was usually middle aged before he felt able to control these spirits; and when the spirit came upon him, other medicine men were able to recognize his power.

A doctor needed much knowledge. He was a very important member of the Indian community and was required to lead an exemplary life among his people. He had a sincere belief in himself and often affected remarkable cures. However, he could also refuse a case if he wished, saying that his spirit had no power for

it. If he accepted and took a gift, usually offered in the beginning, he was held responsible for whatever happened. If too many of their patients died, the entire village might begin to fear him, decide that he was a sorcerer, and even go out and kill him as a public service. His family would ask no payment. Possibly they were weary of the suspicion that usually affected them and were not sure whether his dangerous power was hurting them also.

Doctors rarely acquired great riches (as that term is understood today), but they enjoyed prestige and influence. They could command obedience because the people feared their power and the possible repercussions of opposing their wishes. He was consulted on almost every occasion, being much sought after for his help and advice in times of trouble and distress. An ambitious man could always find a road to prominence by becoming a healer.

When a doctor was called, they had to first make a diagnosis. This meant calling their spirit which they might invoke by doing a particular dance or chant or a combination of both. Everyone in the village might gather to beat on the roof with poles and help the doctor's power. The medicine man wore special clothing, and he usually had various implements to assist him in his cures. His helpers followed, repeating a song, and the doctor fell into a trance, showing his spirit was with him. When he came out of the trance, he felt weary and exhausted; but he had gained knowledge of what was causing the patient's illness.

The simplest ailment came from some powerful object that had been shot there by an evil force. It was drawn out in various ways. While the doctor was extracting the pain, a chorus of helpers often sang along to increase his power.

Herbs and Herbal Medicine

Historically, Indian people practiced herbal medicine, a health process which modern doctors have been keenly interested. Herbalists were not the kinds of doctors just described--those doctors were called in only when the sickness was very severe and was worth the expense. For ordinary colds, colic and fever, people with knowledge of herbs and their curing properties were consulted. Women had the knowledge of herbs and their healing properties as they were the plant gatherers and were trained in their use. For example, they had found out through practical experience that balsam is good for poultices and cherry bark for cough syrups.

Women had extensive knowledge about drying and cooking the different plants and often had a short recitation to be used when they were applied. These formulas were sacred and were passed down through families. They could be sold, but that would mean the owner could never use them again. Most women mixed the herbs secretly and sold the mixture or applied it themselves. It was like a practical school of medicine carried on by women, working alongside the spiritual power in the hands of man.

The following was a basic first-aid chart of herbal medicine:

AILMENT	PLANT (common & botanical name)	DIRECTIONS FOR USE
Aches and Pains	Alder (Alnus oregona)	Rub the rotten wood on the body.
	Devil's Club (Oplopanax horridum)	Cut the thorns off and peel the bark. Boil the infusion and wash the limb affected with rheumatism.
	Nettles (Utica Lyallii)	Soak the stalk in water and rub body.
	Western White Pine (Pinus Monticola)	Boil very young shoots and bathe in this water.
Allergies	Sneezeweed (Helenium Hoopseii)	Blossoms cursed and used as an inhalant for hay fever.
Antidote and Emetic	Dog Plant (Salix Hookeriana)	Use the leaves as an antidote for shellfish poisening.
Antiseptic	Douglas Fir (Psuedotsaga Taxifolia)	The bark is boiled and used on infections.
Arthritis	Nettles (Utica Lyallii)	The fresh leaves were rubbed directly on affected area.
Astringent	Salmon Berry (Rubus spectabilis)	Boil the bark in sea water. Use the brew to clean infected wounds, especially burns.
Burns	Thimbleberry (Rubus parviflous)	Powder the dry leaves and apply them to burns to avoid scars.
	Hemlock (Tsyga heterophylla)	The pitch is applied to sunburn; also used for chapping.
Fever and Headache	Clematis, white (clematis ligusticifolia)	Steep white portion of bark for fever.
	Cleome, yellow Bee plant (Cleome surralata)	Make tea from whole plant.
	Skunk Cabbage (Lysichitum Americonum)	Use leaves on the head for headache.
	Wormwood (Artimisa heterophylla)	Steep leaves in a basket and put next to baby's skin to reduce fever.

Gargle	Oregon Grape (Berberis Aquifolium)	Prepare a tea from the roots.
	Western Red Cedar (thuja plicata)	Boil the buds of the cedar. Cool and use for gargle.
	Willow (salicaceoe)	Boil bark and gargle.
Stomach Disorders	Cascara (Cascara sagrada)	Peel the bark toward the ground. Mix a handful of innerbark in a quart of water. Use as a laxative.
	Chokecherry (Prunus demissa)	Dried cherries pounded and mixed with dry salmon and sugar for dysentery.
	Crab Apple (Pyrus diversifolia)	It is peeled and soaked in water which is then drunk for diarrhea.
	Alder (Alnus Oregono)	The cones and catkins chewed as cure for diarrhea.
	Deer Fern (Struthiopteris spicant)	Chew the young leaves for colic.
-	Field Horsetail (Equisetum arrense)	Eat the heads of the reproductive shoot raw for diarrhea.
	Maidenhair Fern (Adiantum pedatum)	Chew leaves for stomach trouble.
	Salal (Gaultheria Shallan)	Chew the leaves for heartburn and colic.
	Water Parsley or Wild Celery (Oenanthe sarmentosa)	Pound the root between stones and use it as a laxative. Very potent.
	Wild Cherry (Prunus emarginata)	Boil the bark. Drink the liquid as a laxative.
	Wood-sorrel (axalis oregana)	Boil the leaves in water and drink as a cure for "summer complaint."
Whooping Cough	Burdock.(Arcticum minus)	Boil the roots and drink the liquid.
	Skunk Cabbage (Lysichitum Americonum)	The roots are dried, powdered and made into a tea.

Hiccoughs	Juniper (Juniperus scopulorum)	Make tea from the juniper berry.
	Valerian (Valeriana septentrionalis)	Make tea from the roots and drink to relieve hiccoughs.
Measles	Licorice fern (folypedium vulgare)	Crush rhizome, mix it with young fir needles, boil it and drink the liquid.
Nosebleed	Nettle (Urtica Lyallii)	Peel the bark and boil it as a cure for nosebleeds.
	Alum Root (Heuchera parvifolia)	Root pounded up and used wet to apply to sores and swellings.
Sores	Four O'clock (Hesperonio)	For sores, dry the root in the sun. Grind into powder, peel scab, blow powder onto sore.
	Honeysuckle (Lonicera interrupta)	Leaves used to wash sore or pound raw roots and apply them to swelling.
	Horsetails (Equisetum arvense)	Dried and burned, the ashes are used on sores and sore mouths.
	Plantain (Plantage major)	Tea is made from the whole plant, and poultices of plant for battle bruises. Also raw leaves mixed with those of wild clematis are applied to wounds.
	Red Elderberry (Sambucus callicarpa)	Mash the leaves, dip the pulp in water and apply to infected area for blood poisoning.
	Trillium (Trillium ovatum)	Scrape the bulb with a sharp rock and smear on a boil to bring it to a head.
	Wild Currant (Ribes aureum)	Grind bark for poultice. When skin turns yellow the treatment is strong enough.
Colds, Coughs and Sore Throats	Alder (Alnus Oregona)	The bark is boiled and made into tea. Drink for colds.

	Indian Balsam (Leptotaenia multifida)	The roots are dug after the seed is ripe. They are cut into chips like small carrots and strung on a line to cure in the shade. Tea is made from the chips. For coughs and flu.
	Nettle (Uritca Lyallii)	Rubbing with nettles is good for colds or they can be made into tea and drunk for colds.
	Wild Rose (Rosacae species)	Tea can be made from the roots for colds or boil the roots and take it by the spoonful as a remedy for a sore throat.
	Licorice Root (Glycyrrhiza lepidota)	Root chewed for strong throat for singing.
	Licorice Fern (polypodium vulgare)	Rhizome roasted, peeled, chewed and juice swallowed for coughs.
Deodorant	Bracket Fungus (Fornes)	Scrape it on a sharp rock and use the powder as a body deodorant.
	Devil's Club (Oplopanax horridum)	Dry the bark and pulverize to use as a perfume, baby talc or deodorant.

Contact Period - 1800s

In spite of the fact that the Northwest Indian population was decreasing and young people as well as old were dying from infectious diseases introduced into their community by the Europeans, there were very few changes in traditional curing practices; and they did not happen rapidly enough to effectively restrict the spread of these alien diseases. The Europeans had some immunity due to heredity; however, diseases such as smallpox, cholera or venereal diseases did not exist in this country prior to European contact; and people living in the Pacific Northwest, although normally healthy and active due to a good diet and plenty of fresh air and exercise, had no inherited resistance or immunity--thus, many tribes were disseminated as these diseases and others alien to them spread through their villages unchecked. They accepted smallpox vaccinations and a few Western patent medicines when available, but for the most part they continued to use their traditional herbal medicines. As no really effective Western medicines existed at that time for the endemic diseases brought to the Northwest by the Europeans except gradual natural immunization, the Indian people had their population significantly reduced.

Western medical practices and knowledge increased gradually, but it is very difficult to access what impact they may have had with native people as they were not available.

BD.33

Spokane Indian Ghost Dancers
(Photo courtesy of the Spokane Public Library)

APPENDICES

INDIAN TRIBES AND RESERVATIONS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Indian Tribes in Washington State
(by Agency)

Colville Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Olympic Peninsula Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation
Hoh Indian Tribe
Jamestown Klallam Indian Tribe
Lower Elwha Tribal Community
Makah Indian Tribe
Quileute Tribe
Quinault Tribe of Indians
Shoalwater Bay Tribal Council
Skokomish Indian Tribe
Squaxin Island Tribe
Chinook Indian Tribe**
Clallam General Council**
San Juan Indian Tribe**

Puget Sound Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Lummi Tribe
Muckleshoot Indian Tribe
Nisqually Indian Community
Nooksack Indian Tribe of Washington
Port Gamble Klallam Indian Community
Puyallup Tribe
Sauk-Suiattle Tribe
Stillaguamish Tribe
Suquamish Tribe of the Port Madison Reservation
Swinomish Indian Tribal Council
Tulalip Tribes
Upper Skagit Tribe
Cowlitz Tribe**
Duwamish Tribal Council**
Kikiallus Tribe**
Samish Tribe**
Snohomish Tribal Council**
Snoqualmie Tribal Organization**
Steilacoom Indian Tribe**

Spokane Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Kalispel Indian Community
Spokane Tribe of Indians

Yakima Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Indian Reservation of Washington

**non-federally recognized groups

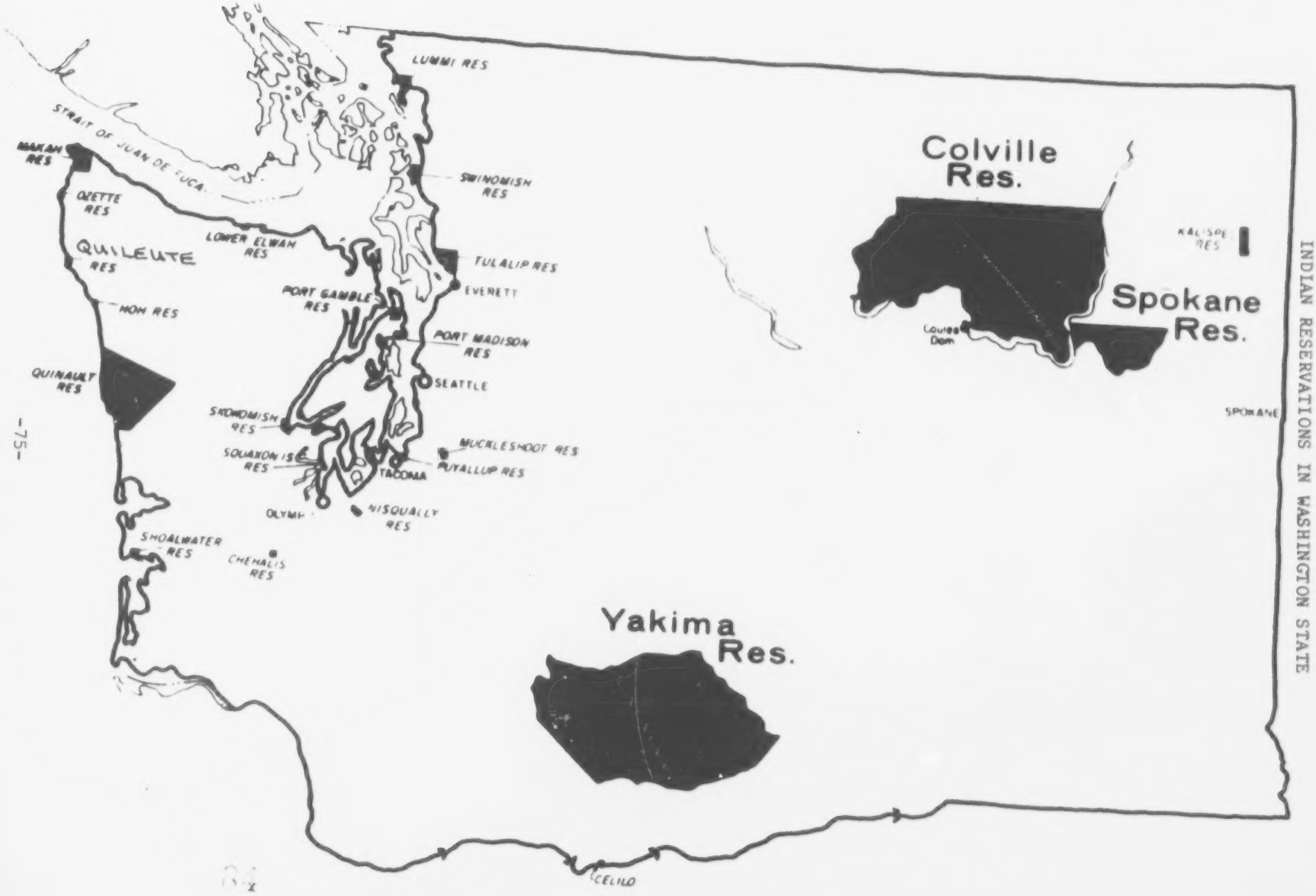
SH.67

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Name	Acreage**	County
Chehalis Reservation	2,076.06	Grays Harbor/Thurston
Colville Reservation	1,059,199.08	Ferry/Okanogan
Hoh River Reservation	443.00	Jefferson
Kalispel Reservation	4,557.41	Pend Oreille
Lower Elwha Reservation	427.48	Clallam
Lummi Reservation	7,678.13	Whatcom
Makah Reservation	27,243.37	Clallam
Muckleshoot Reservation	1,274.99	King
Nisqually Reservation	925.00	Thurston
Nooksack Reservation	.97	Whatcom
Ozette Reservation	719.00	Clallam
Port Gamble Reservation	1,303.00	Kitsap
Port Madison Reservation	2,871.46	Kitsap
Puyallup Reservation*	101.37	Pierce
Quileute Reservation	814.07	Clallam
Quinault Reservation	129,307.54	Grays Harbor/Jefferson
Sauk-Suiattle Reservation	23.21	Snohomish
Shoalwater Reservation	335.00	Pacific
Skokomish Reservation	2,984.51	Mason
Spokane Reservation	133,237.27	Stevens
Squaxin Island	883.37	Mason
Swinomish Reservation	3,601.76	Skagit
Tulalip Reservation	10,667.48	Snohomish
Upper Skagit Reservation	74.17	Skagit
Yakima Reservation	1,130,014.64	Yakima/Klickitat

**from United States Department of Interior report of lands under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as of September 30, 1984

SH.67



INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN WASHINGTON STATE

STEREOTYPES

A stereotype is a perception a person has regarding another person or people. What they think may or may not be true. If you have a fixed concept or notion, either negative or positive, about a group, person, idea, etc., without investigating the facts, you are stereotyping. Stereotyping does not allow for individuality or critical judgment.

Many stereotypes of Indian people have been perpetuated through movies, radio, television, books, cartoons, comic books, and athletic mascots. A common example are Hollywood westerns shown on television depicting Indian people wearing large feather warbonnets, warpaint, and their hair worn in braids. They always rode horses, were aggressive and lived in tipis; and teachers should be careful to call their students' attention to such inaccurate information. Below are some examples and non-examples of accurate information about American Indians.

Non-Examples	Examples
All Indians braided their hair.	Traditional hair styles were as varied as the number of Indian tribes.
All Indians lived in tipis.	Housing ranged from the longhouse of the Pacific Northwest to the hogan of Indians residing in the Southwestern United States.
All Indians hunted the buffalo.	American Indians hunted deer and elk in the Pacific Northwest, buffalo in the midwest and grizzly bears in Alaska.
All Indians were aggressive.	Indians exhibited a full range of emotional behavior.
All Indians wore buckskin clothing.	Indians in the Pacific Northwest often wore clothing made from the bark of cedar trees.
All Indians wore feathers in their hair.	American Indians wore a variety of decorations in their hair--some wore feathers, some wore shells.
All Indians spoke with hand signals.	Hand signals were utilized by the Kiowa for communication.
All Indians rode horses.	Some Indian people utilized various types of canoes as their primary form of transportation.

The preceding stereotypes have become so common today that they often pass unnoticed by the general public; however, a critical examination by public school students would reveal the fallacy in the non-examples, or stereotypes. Students should examine these words and discover whether they apply accurately to the American Indian based on their own personal research.

Two girls in Plateau-style clothing (note fez-style hats)

Coastal/Puget Sound-style cedar bark skirt

STEREOTYPE: HOMES

The tipi stereotype for Indian homes can be dispelled by teaching the following:

Plateau

Indians living in the Plateau Culture Area of Eastern Washington usually spent the winter in well-established villages located in warmer valleys on the banks of major waterways. Some of the villages consisted of permanent circular, earthen-roofed houses built partly underground or banked with earth against the cold. The more common Plateau winter home was a long lodge typically covered with mats made from tule or cattail reeds or rushes and were also commonly covered with bark. In the spring a portable shelter of reed mats was prepared if any protection from the elements was needed. Away from the winter sites, large fishing encampments were established using the long lodge covered with mats. The adaptation of the tipi occurred about the same time as the introduction of horses in the early 1700s. It could be easily mounted behind a horse for travel via travois. A travois consisted of two poles of unequal length, one end which trailed on the ground and the other, or forward, end which was fastened to a horse or dog. Packs were supported on a platform or nets strung between the two poles. The poles being of different length, did not bounce at the same time when dragged across rough or bumpy ground which caused the travois to ride a bit more smoothly. The travois allowed them greater mobility during the hunting and gathering seasons.

Plateau winter lodge

Coastal/Puget Sound

Summer homes of Indians living in Washington State's Coastal and Puget Sound Culture Area consisted primarily of temporary lodges constructed out of rushes or bark. In the mild climate of this area, little shelter was needed except during the winter when the weather was cold and wet for long periods of time, then permanent cedar plank longhouses were built.

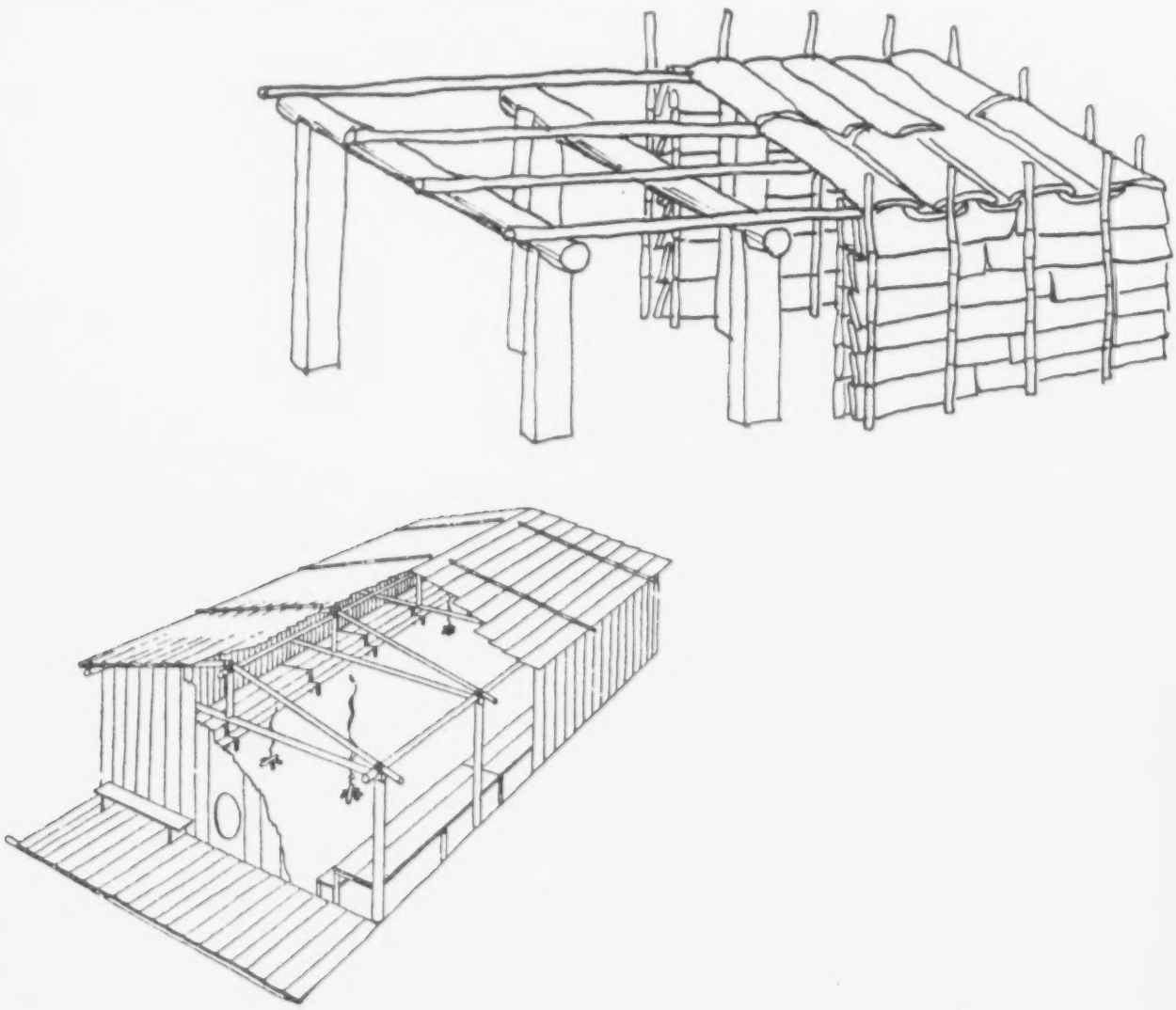


Illustration of Coastal cedar plank house

For more detailed information regarding Indian houses, refer to the section on Indian homes in this book.

STEREOTYPE: CLOTHING

The stereotype of Indian clothing is buckskin leggings and dresses.

Plateau

Indian people living in the Plateau Culture Area wore clothing made out of the hides of deer and their robes were often from buffalo hides. They made moccasins and boots from the buffalo, elk or deer hides. Their work clothes were plain and practical, but their ceremonial clothes were decorated with beautiful shells, fringe, porcupine quills, bird feathers and, later, beadwork.

Coastal/Puget Sound

In mild seasons, men wore little clothing or a robe or blanket thrown over the back and fastened across the chest with a string. Women wore fiber skirts that were about knee length, strung on a cord and fastened with several rows of twining. Capes, hats, and skirts were also made of softened shredded cedar bark and nettle cord twining, and clothing made from cattail rushes were worn for work and in rainy weather. Animal hides were of little value in the rain because they became soaked. Puget Sound women sometimes wore skirts made of elk or deer hides. Most women had some sort of upper garment, usually a short poncho or sleeveless jacket, worn either during rainy weather or on special occasions. Moccasins were not generally worn primarily because there was no need for them and also because they would stretch out of shape if they got wet and would shrink and harden as they dried. There was a type of moccasin worn during dry weather or on long journeys, but these were strictly utilitarian and not decorated. Men sometimes wore leggings when hunting or traveling.

For more information about clothing, refer to the Clothing section in this book.

STEREOTYPE: FOOD

The stereotype of Indian food was the buffalo.

Plateau

People in the Plateau Culture Area did hunt buffalo. Before Europeans came to this country, the buffalo numbered in the millions; and unlike the Europeans who hunted them almost to extinction only for their hides, the Plateau Indians used every part of the buffalo. They used the hides for tipis, moccasins, leggings, and other clothing. They used hair to make rope; and the bones were used for knives, arrowheads, paint brushes and many other things. The horns were used for spoons, to carry live coals from the fire in, as cups, and as a headdress; and, of course, they ate the meat. No part was wasted. Their diet, however, also included elk, deer and other animals as well as various berries, nuts, roots, and other edible plants which they collected and preserved through various methods.

Coastal/Puget Sound

People in the Coastal/Puget Sound culture area primarily hunted deer and elk. They also fished, and their favorite fish was the protein-rich salmon; but they also ate trout, bass, smelt, and many other kinds of fish. Clams, oysters and other sea life were also important in their diet. One tribe who lived next to the Pacific Ocean, the Makah, hunted whales and seals for their hides and blubber. As in the Plateau region, Coastal and Puget Sound tribes also supplemented their diet with various berries, nuts, roots, and other edible plants.

For more information regarding native foods, refer to section on Men and Women's Responsibilities in this book.

STEREOTYPE: HAIRSTYLES

Long braids are a stereotype of how all Indian people wore their hair.

Plateau

People in the Plateau Culture Area wore their hair long, and sometimes it was worn in braids. Other times it was tied back with a piece of rawhide or thin rope. When they gathered together for celebrations, their long hair was sometimes wrapped in the fur of small animals for decoration. Hairstyles varied from tribe to tribe and it should be remembered that the tribes were very individual in their styles.

Coastal/Puget Sound

People in this area usually wore their hair cut shorter; and like most other tribes, they wore headdresses during ceremonies or battle. For everyday wear, it was tied back with rawhide or held in place with a headband of fur, wool or cedarbark. For ceremonies they might place a few feathers in their hair but these stood upright in front or at the two sides--not at the back of the head as photographs depicting Sioux people who lived in the Midwestern United States.

For more information regarding grooming, refer to the section on Clothing in this book.

SH.67

STEREOTYPES
Definitions and Study Questions

Define

Stereotype

Perception

Perpetuate

Media

Plateau

1. How do we form sterotypes in our thinking about other people?

2. How do we perceive people who are different from ourselves?

3. Is there any way that we continue to hold false beliefs about another group of people?

4. How do we learn perceptions by watching television programs:

   a. How does television portray families?

   b. Recall a television program about a (1) family, (2) minority, (3) teenagers, (4) other young people, and (5) villains or "bad guys".

5. What type of houses did the following groups live in and what type of clothing did they wear?

   a. Coastal Indians

   b. Plateau Indians

6. What type of food was most available to:

   a. Coastal Indians

   b. Plateau Indians

SH.67

INDIAN FISHERIES IN WASHINGTON STATE

Background

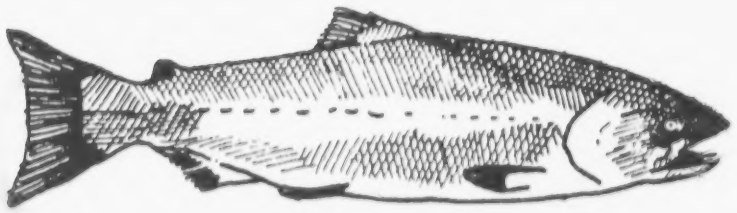
One of the most controversial issues in Washington State has been the retained right of treaty Indians (tribes that negotiated treaties with the Federal Government in the mid-1850s recognizing these rights) to fish the Columbia River, Puget Sound and the rivers and streams of Washington. Although legal battles in the controversy date back to the turn of the century, the conflict has intensified within the last forty years with the fighting occurring on the water, in the courtroom, in the legislature, and between government agencies. This issue should have been resolved by the 1979 U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the 1974 district court decision of Judge George Boldt in the United States vs. Washington, but the economic importance of the commercial fishing interests prompted the Washington State government, supported by the sports fishermen, to question the decision.

Persons principally involved in the fishing rights dispute can be divided into two categories, those who catch fish and those who regulate the catching (part of the complexity stems from the fact that many different agencies are regulating the same fish at different locations or different points in time). Those who catch fish consist of two groups, treaty and nontreaty; and the non-treaty fishermen subdivide into two classes, commercial and sport. Although the treaties between the United States and Indian tribes do not limit the species of fish or shellfish involved, the conflict thus far has centered around several species of salmon and a species related to salmon called steelhead trout, which pass through the waters in and beyond Washington State.

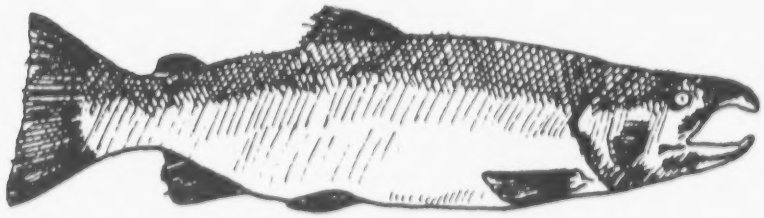
What is known today as Washington State was once the sole domain of several Indian tribes with their own rich and varied history, tradition and culture. The heavily forested portion of the state was occupied by Indian people who possessed the technology needed to efficiently utilize the natural resources of the region; and as stated previously, fish, especially the protein-rich salmon and shellfish, were staples of the Indian diet and the basis for commerce and trading. Central to both their physical and cultural existence was their understanding of the natural fish resource. Although many species of fish and other sea animals as well as shellfish were important elements of Indian diet, salmon held and still holds a special place in Indian culture in this region. The salmon appeared in religious practices and everyday life of the Indian. The religious rite called the "first salmon ceremony" expresses the reverence of the Indians for the resource that has sustained them for centuries.

A word must be said about the basic pattern and nature of salmon in the Pacific Northwest. Salmon and steelhead as well as cutthroat and Dolly Varden trout, which are anadromous fish, spawn in freshwater streams or lakes. The young develop in freshwater and then travel downstream to the marine areas, which in this case are the Puget Sound, Strait of Juan de Fuca, and onward to the Pacific Ocean. After reaching maturity (the age varies per species) in ocean waters, the salmon, following their instincts, swim back upstream to their point of origin, their original spawning grounds, where they spawn a new

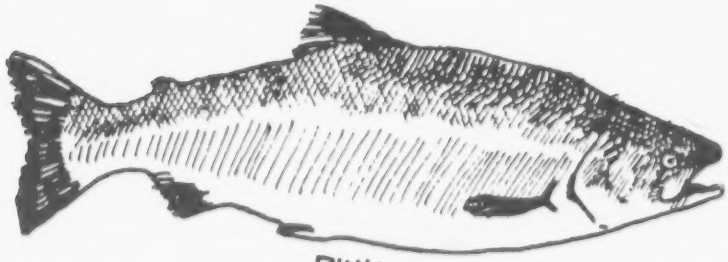
SALMON TYPES



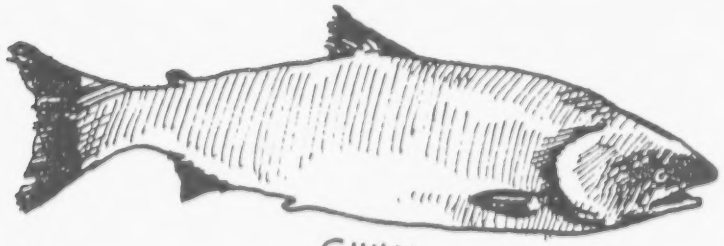
CHINOOK



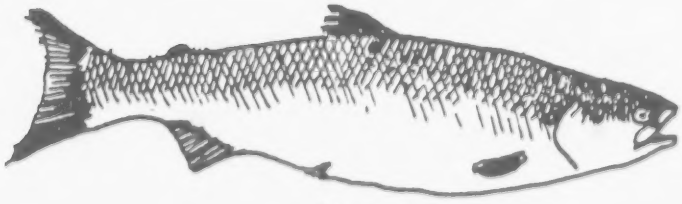
COHO



PINK



CHUM



SOCKEYE

generation, then they die and the cycle begins anew. There are variations on this pattern for each of the five species of salmon and steelhead inhabiting Washington's waters.

In all the treaties Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens negotiated with Indian tribes, there are two provisions concerning the taking of fish. One secures to the treaty tribes an exclusive right to take fish within the boundaries of the reservations. The other, which has been at the center of the fishing controversy, says in part with minor variations: "The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the Territory."

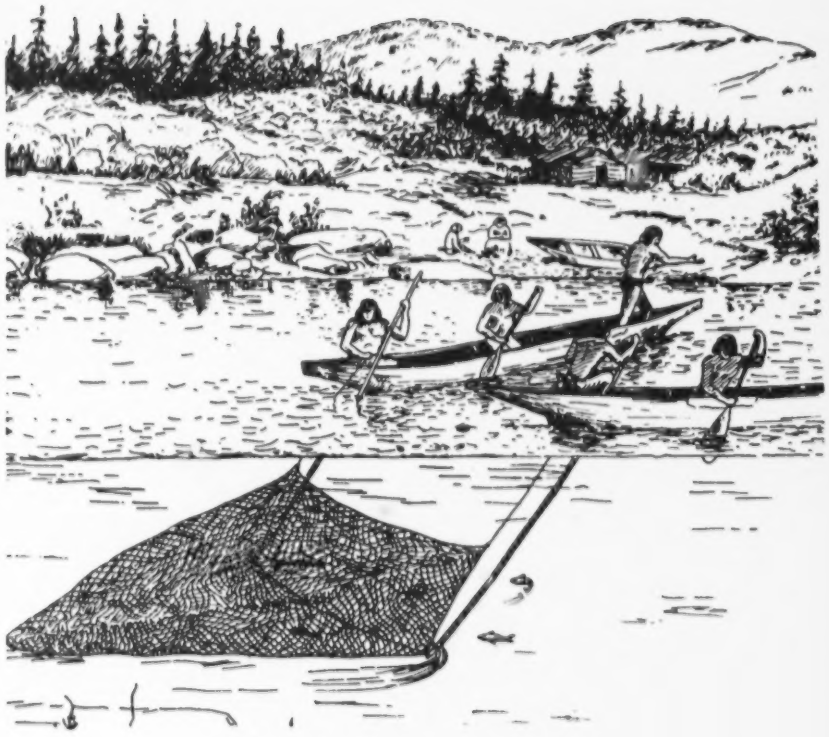
It was clear to non-Indian treaty negotiators that fishing was central to the existence of these Indian people and that the relatively small land areas retained by the tribes did not contain sufficient fishing sites to assure them an adequate supply of fish. With an often stated federal promise that tribal members could fish when and where they had always fished in areas outside the newly established reservations, the treaty provision quoted previously was designed to put to rest the Indians' well-based concerns that their food supply, their economic base and an integral part of their culture would be lost. Governor Stevens also gave oral assurances that the Federal Government had no desire to interfere with Indian fishing. At that point in time (the mid-1850s), however, fish were plentiful and there was no competition with non-Indian commercial fisheries.

Indian fishing dominance was ended at the beginning of this century when the transcontinental railroad was completed and major improvements in the technology of the canning industry provided the access to distant markets which was needed to support a large non-Indian commerical fishery. Along with the expansion of the canneries there came a change in fishing methods used by the non-Indians who, beside copying the Indian methods of weir and set nets, enlarged on the fish trap concept and developed the fish wheel. All of these devices had to be located in the rivers or bays where the concentration of fish was high; and as they could control a fish run as well as access to the best fishing locations, their use led to the first conflict between Indian and non-Indian fishermen.

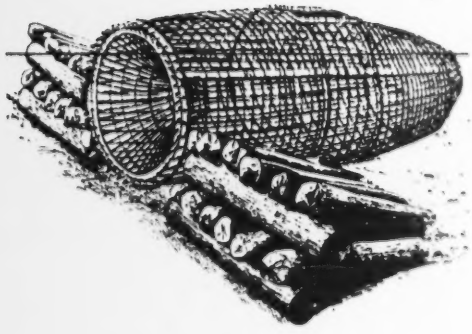
It should be noted that competition between non-Indian fishcatchers led to a continuing movement of the fishery away from the rivers as each group of fishermen tried to get ahead of the others to obtain the most fish. Fish traps and wheels were stationary in each river and their operators caught a portion of each run and let the rest through to spawn thus assuring survival of the species. Later, as larger commercial concerns (some of them related to timber interests) took over, overall harvest targets were sought and little attention was paid to escapements. Purse seiners started fishing at the mouth of the rivers where the fish were concentrated and thus outfished the traps. Gillnetters gained an advantage over purse seiners by being able to fish further away with less limitation from weather conditions and lesser concern over individual runs. Finally, trollers started fishing nearly year-round in the ocean in areas where fish from many runs and in various stages of maturity were present. In all of this, Indians, who were still fishing in rivers and inshore areas, found themselves blamed (since they were the last in line) for the obvious devastation to the once huge salmon runs.

FISHING GEAR

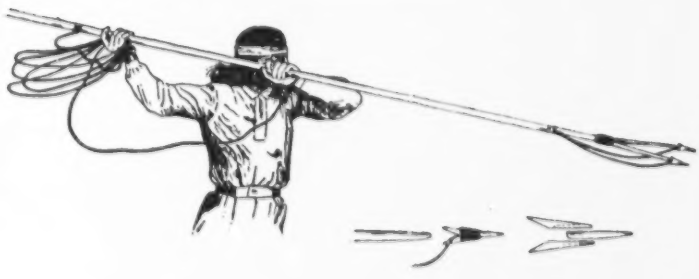
1. Dip Net



3. Bag Net



2. Wicker Basket



4. Spear

The growing recreational fishery and non-Indian commercial interests sought protection of the remaining escapements and restrictive measures were implemented which included the outlawing of traps and fish wheels (as well as set nets) followed by the closure of most of Puget Sound to commercial fishing (except for limited seasonal periods). Under the guise of "conservation," these restrictions were imposed on Indians as well as non-Indians in all off-reservation fishing areas.

The reduction in the numbers of fish available, due to the rapid expansion in non-Indian fishing, was further impacted by seemingly unrelated factors that had and continue to have a negative affect on water quality and spawning grounds. Such factors include extensive logging and the destruction of valuable watersheds, poor road building practices, industrial pollution, residential and commercial development of property, irrigation projects, and the building of dams leaving little or no passage for salmon to the spawning areas. Fishing fleets from other countries, such as the Soviet Union, Japan and Canada have also contributed to the depletion of this resource in recent years.

The period between 1905 and 1917 was noted for the great expansion of the non-Indian fishing industry, especially more and more purse seiners, trollers and other boats fishing in the deep waters at the mouths of bays and rivers. This resulted in large numbers of fish being caught before they reached the rivers, the spawning areas and the Indians. As early as 1889, state government began to affect Indian fishing by passing legislation to close rivers and streams in Puget Sound, except for what an Indian family needed to survive or subsistence fishing.

The non-Indian fishing industry, however, resisted regulation. There was little scientific knowledge of salmon and most of the state regulations had little to do with conservation, but resulted from struggles over the kinds of fishing gear or areas to be fished. Even when overfishing became evident, there was little incentive for fishermen to stop fishing because those not caught by one group would be caught by another. To make up for the depletion of the resource, the state began building fish hatcheries in 1895; and since statehood, Washington has also regulated the fishing industry to increase spawning escapement in a way that has benefited non-Indians such as making it illegal to fish commercially with nets, traps or fish wheels for salmon in rivers.

By 1907, all Puget Sound rivers were closed to net fishing for commercial purposes, but the non-Indian fishing boat and trap operators were left free to take salmon in saltwater. By outlawing net fishing except for subsistence purposes, the state denied the Indians their economic base. The Indians were now left with the choice of giving up their usual and accustomed fishing grounds or risking arrest and jail if they attempted to exercise their treaty rights.

Steelhead trout was designated as a "game fish" in 1925 which made catching them with a net a state crime as did selling them. This was major blow to some tribes who relied on steelhead as a food source in the winter when salmon did not run in the rivers. Yet regulations of the Washington State Department of Game did not recognize the special rights or needs of Indian tribes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, continuing disputes over the Washington State Game Department's regulation of Indian fishing resulted in a number of demonstrations, fish-ins and confrontations between Indians and non-Indian fishing interests as well as the Game Department. In late 1963 Washington State once again asserted what it believed to be its power to regulate Indian fishing off reservation by closing Indian fishing in south Puget Sound, and Indians responded with organized protest. The center of the protest was a place known as Frank's Landing, an off-reservation fishing site of the Nisqually Tribe in south Puget Sound, and many fish-ins were held. Demonstrations were held at the Federal courthouse in Seattle and at the State Capitol in Olympia as Indians demanded a halt to state interference with tribal fishing rights. Tribal fishing sites of the Muckleshoots and Yakimas also became demonstration sites as the controversy continued. Tensions ran high and many Indian boats were smashed, nets cut, fishing equipment confiscated, and fishing by Indians forbidden.

In 1969, two cases, Sohappy vs. Smith and U.S. vs. Oregon, involved the Oregon law prohibiting all net fishing on the Columbia River above the Deschutes River. Federal District Court Judge Robert Belloni found that Oregon's regulatory system ignored treaty rights of the Indians and, in effect, allocated almost the entire harvest to the non-Indian commercial fishermen who were fishing lower down the river. The court found that the state had a positive duty to regulate the fishery so that the Indians would have an opportunity to harvest a "fair and equitable share," and that the state must treat Indian fisheries separately from other fisheries and manage the fish for the equal benefit of the Indian fisheries. Imprecise as this ruling was as to what was a "fair and equitable share," it laid the foundation for the Boldt decision in 1974.

United States vs. Washington State (The Boldt Decision) - 1974

A series of court cases has affirmed the Indian right to fish culminating in the United States vs. Washington, or the Boldt Decision in 1974. Hopeful that the northwest fishing war could be ended, the Interior Department requested that a suit be brought which would bring into effect the ruling in the Sohappy decision in Washington State. United States vs. Washington was filed by the United States on behalf of seven tribes: the Puyallup, Nisqually, Muckleshoot, Skokomish, Makah, Quileute, and Hoh. These tribes later entered the suit on their own behalf and were joined by the Lummi, Quinault, Upper Skagit River, Sauk-Suiattle, Squaxin Island, Stillaguamish, and the Yakima Nation. The tribes took the view that the state had no regulatory power over them, that "fair and equitable share" was too vague, and that the Indians should have an equal share in the fish harvest. The Washington fisheries and game departments and the Washington Reef Net Owners Association represented the state side, however, they could not agree on their position. Fisheries recognized that the Indians possessed "some" unique treaty rights; the Game Department did not. The trial included the anthropology and history of the 14 treaty tribes involved in this suit and the biology and resource management of salmon and steelhead. All of this took place in order to understand and interpret the meaning of the treaties and to come to a decision.

This decision was reached on February 12, 1974, and ruled that treaty tribes had been systematically denied their rights to fish off their reservations, that the tribes were entitled to the opportunity to catch half the harvestable salmon and steelhead returning to traditional off-reservation fishing grounds, that ceremonial and subsistence catches were not to count as part of the off-reservation share, and that by meeting specific conditions the tribes could regulate fishing by their members. Judge Boldt hoped that the decision, reached after more than three years of research, would settle the long controversy over Indian fishing rights and was confident that Washington citizens would accept and abide by the decision. However, neither happened. The decision was called un-American by some because it was perceived to favor a special group. Judge Boldt's impeachment was called for, and his decision was ridiculed by sports and commercial fishermen.

The most controversial point was the 50 percent allocation of the harvestable salmon to the treaty fishermen, the court having interpreted the treaties to mean that "fishing in common" meant sharing equally. There was also controversy over the decision's mandate to the state to manage fisheries so Indians would be assured of an opportunity to catch their share. In practice, commercial and recreational fishing would have to be cut back beginning in the Pacific Ocean, Strait of Juan de Fuca and further inland to allow enough salmon to reach Indian fishing grounds; and this meant that the marine fishermen would be directly affected, and that the steelhead sports fishermen would have to share with the Indians 50 percent of the harvestable steelhead.

The groups who attacked the United States vs. Washington State decision were shocked and angered when it was unanimously upheld by the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco and protested by boycotting Indian-caught fish, fishing against the law on Indian fishing days and fishing in closed Indian waters. By court order Judge Boldt retained jurisdiction in the case and, despite continued opposition, initiated procedures to implement the decision in an orderly manner.

After the Ninth Circuit court upheld Judge Boldt's decision, the state petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court for review, which was initially denied; but in late 1978 the Supreme Court decided to hear three related fishing rights cases known as Washington vs. Fishing Vessel Owner's Association. At this period of time, the Indian fishing rights controversy was at the crisis stage. Law enforcement broke down as there was a direct conflict between the state and federal courts. Non-Indian fishermen openly defied state closures of the fishing areas. Violence erupted when state fisheries officers attempted to issue citations or make arrests. It was not simply a fight over fish, it was also a dispute over whether or not Indian people had unique rights reserved though the treaties. The resentment and hostility extended not only to Indians but to the federal government for its support of the treaties.

As the situation grew worse, scientists worried that the chaos was permanently damaging the fish resource. With people catching what they wanted, where they wanted, when they wanted and no one obeying the laws, the salmon were in real danger of being fished out, leaving no chance to renew this resource.

On July 2, 1979, in a six to three decision, the Supreme Court upheld almost all of the Boldt decision. The court ruled that it was the intent of the

treaties that "fishing in common" meant that non-treaty fishermen might also fish at the Indians' usual and accustomed places but the tribes have a right guaranteed by treaty to their share of the fish caught out of Puget Sound and the surrounding area. The court said that in return for vast amounts of land ceded to the United States, the Indians had received very little. The Indians had contractually reserved in the treaties what must be regarded as a property right--the right of taking fish at their usual and accustomed grounds and stations, which might be far from the reservations. The one change from the Boldt decision was that the fish caught by the Indians on reservations and for subsistence and ceremonial use would be counted as part of their 50 percent allocation.

The Supreme Court also overruled the Washington Supreme Court ruling which prohibited the Washington State Fisheries and Game Departments from setting guidelines to implement the Boldt decision. The Washington Supreme Court then decided that the state could enforce treaty rights, and state officials agreed to this.

Biologists from the State Fisheries Department have been cooperating with tribal biologists in setting salmon fishing regulations. They are also cooperating through the establishment and maintenance of fish hatcheries, sharing technology and restoring or rebuilding traditional spawning areas and surrounding habitats and watersheds to increase the fish runs benefiting both Indian and non-Indian fishermen as well as Washington's wildlife. Seventeen tribes have hatcheries and release 30 percent of the total hatchery fish in the state. Increased conservation by both groups is a key factor as well.

Fisheries Management

In its 1974 decision, the U.S. District Court ruled that the treaty tribes of Washington State generally possessed the right to authorize and manage fisheries in their usual and accustomed fishing areas for the benefit of their members. This right is subject to the authority of the State of Washington only to the extent necessary to ensure the continuation of the resource. Two tribes (Quinault and Yakima) were recognized as "self-regulating" (not subject to any state authority) and procedures were established whereby other tribes could petition the court for "self-regulating" status.

In order to fulfill the obligations placed upon them, the various tribes have been contracting annually through the Bureau of Indian Affairs for funding necessary to perform fishery management, resource enhancement and other related services.

Individual tribes (and intertribal management agencies such as the Point No Point Treaty Council and the Skagit System Cooperative) have formed fisheries departments headed by tribal fisheries managers and staffed by fishery science professionals. The tribes also have invariably established fishery advisory bodies to assist in the management of the resource.

The treaty tribes of Western Washington formed the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission (NWIFC) in Olympia, whose mission is to provide policy coordination

in the fishery-related activities of its 20 member tribes. The NWIFC also provides certain technical support services as well as centralized public information services.

The treaty tribes of Eastern Washington and Oregon formed the Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) in Portland, with a mission similar to that of the NWIFC.

State and tribal fishery management agencies have moved from initial mistrust, based on a plaintiff-defendant relationship, to an era of cooperation in overall resource management, joint planning, and coopeerative resource enhancement and habitat protection for the benefit of the fish resources and the people (Indian and non-Indian alike) who depend on them for their economic and cultural survival.

Along with being actively involved in efforts to protect and restore fish habitat, including water quality and valuable watersheds, and to assure the survival of wild or native fish stocks, the treaty Indian tribes of Western Washington released 46,876,023 hatchery reared salmon and steelhead in 1986, according to figures compiled by the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission. This was the fourth consecutive year in which the tribes released more than 30 million fish. Hatchery-produced fish are released only when it will not adversely affect the survival of native stocks. Tribal biologists work in cooperation and coordination with state and private individuals and groups in fisheries management.

Tribes are committed to protecting this resource and many have implemented effective tribal enforcement procedures to ensure that tribal fishermen observe and comply with tribal fishing regulations as well as monitoring the activities of non-Indians relative to the protection of the fisheries habitat. Habitat protection includes monitoring all activities that could potentially threaten fish habitat such as timber sales, industrial and hydroelectric development, and projects involving the removal or alteration of shorelines, river channels or banks. Along with the rearing, releasing and tracking (tagging) of salmon, tribal fisheries also negotiate with the state regarding the development and enhancement of shellfish and bottomfish and their habitat.

Fisheries, both the harvesting and production, provide a much needed economic base for many Washington State tribes (treaty tribes in Western Washington make about $30 million in direct income from fisheries) and employ many tribal members in all phases of fisheries management. By protecting this valuable resource and ensuring future fish runs, Indian people are also protecting and ensuring the reinforcement of their treaty rights and the continuance of their unique heritage and culture.

Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission

The Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission was established in 1974 by the treaty tribes who had been party to the United States vs. Washington litigation that affirmed treaty Indian fishing rights. The Commission's role is to coordinate an orderly and biologically sound treaty Indian fishery in the

Clara Seymore cleaning a salmon at the Quinault Tribal Seafood Processing Plant (photo courtesy of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

Skokomish Indians working in tribal fish processing plant. (photo courtesy of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

Pacific Northwest and provide members with a single unified voice on fishery management and conservation matters.

Tribes serviced by NWIFC are the Hoh, Jamestown Klallam, Lower Elwha Klallam, Port Gamble Klallam, Lummi, Makah, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Nooksack, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Sauk-Suiattle, Upper Skagit, Skokomish, Squaxin Island, Stillaguamish, Suquamish, Swinomish, and Tulalip. These tribes elect eight commissioners who provide policy and direction to NWIFC staff. The commissioners elect a chairman, vice chairman and treasurer; and the NWIFC's executive director supervises the staff who implements the policies and fisheries management activities approved by the commissioners.

Three main divisions comprise the Commission:

1. **Fishery Services:** The primary purpose of this division is to support and promote all member tribes' fishery management programs. This is accomplished by providing technical assistance to tribes, coordinating their management programs and representing their management policies.

2. **Information Services:** The tribes consider effective external communication with non-Indian governments, the non-Indian community and the news media of prime importance in fisheries management. This division produces and coordinates public relations programs and products and coordinates input to the legislative process. Their basic objectives are to inform non-Indians about tribal fisheries management, help build effective Indian/non-Indian relations and help protect treaty rights.

3. **Intertribal Coordination:** The tribes recognize the need for intertribal coordination in fishery management programs as well as coordination between the tribes and non-Indian fishery managers. Attention was focused in such areas as: Intertribal coordination of enforcement and training, fisherman identification and boat plaque programs, and general liaison work.

Policy analysts also provide services related to the implementation of the U.S.-Canada Salmon Interception Treaty and environmental coordination.

Funding for the Commission is provided by congressional appropriation through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Administration for Native Americans and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

For more information contact the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, 6730 Martin Way East, Olympia, Washington, 98506, (206) 438-1180.

Sources

American Indian Experience, Department of Human Rights, City of Seattle.

Washington State and Indian Treaty Rights, Facts and Issues, a Study Prepared by the League of Women Voters of Washington, July, 1980.

Sources (cont.)

Indian Tribes--A Continuing Quest for Survival, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, June 1981.

Understanding Indian Treaties as Law, prepared by Russel Barsh and published by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington State.

Tribal Governments and the Boldt Decision, David P. Weston, Tribal Operations Officer, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland, Oregon.

Indian Fishing Rights in the Pacific Northwest, Prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Cooperation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Portland, Oregon, revised January, 1976.

Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1987.

The Good News. . . And the Bad News - "The Boldt Decision," a series of newspaper articles compiled by the Washington State Department of Fisheries, February, 1984.

"The Truth About Indian Fishing," Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission News, Vol. XIII, Number 1, 1987.

The Olympian, "Computers Help Guard Watershed," The Associated Press, August 20, 1988.

American Indians Today--Issues and Conflicts, Judith Harlan, Franklin Watts, 1987.

Nickolas Lampsakis, Senior Treaty Area Biologist, Point No Point Treaty Council

Nancy L. Butterfield, Information Specialist/Intern, Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission

Selected Additional Bibliography

American Friends Service Committee, 1970. Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. University of Washington Press.

Barsh, Russel L., 1977. The Washington Fishing Rights Controversy: An Economic Critique. Monograph Series, University of Washington Graduate School of Business Administration.

Clark, William G., 1985. Fishing in a Sea of Court Orders: Puget Sound Salmon Management 10 Years After the Boldt Decision. North American Journal of Fisheries Management; 5(3B): 417-434.

Cohen, Fay G., 1986. Treaties on Trial. The Continuous Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights. University of Washington Press.

Lane, Robert B. and B. Lane, 1986. The Treaty Council that Failed. A Commentary on the Proceedings of the Chehalis River Treaty Council. American Indian Journal; Spring, 1986: pp. 2-13.

Swindell, Edward G., Jr., 1942. Report on Source, Nature and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting & Miscellaneous Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon. U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Division of Forestry and Grazing, Los Angeles, California.

Swinomish Indian Fish Company Plant
(Photo courtesy of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

KI.4

FISHERIES

Definitions and Study Questions

Define:

Controversy

Staple

Negotiate

Purse seiner

Troller

Gill net

Regulation

Spawn

Suit

Petition

Commission

Study Questions:

1. How important was salmon to the Indian at the time they signed their treaties in Western Washington?

2. In what ways was the salmon tied to the everyday life of the American Indian?

3. What factors changed the life cycle of the salmon? Be sure to mention:

   a. logging
   b. refrigeration
   c. pollution
   d. canneries
   e. railroads
   f. new fishing techniques
   g. hydroelectric dams

4. What type of fishing boats changed fishing in the twentieth century?

5. Briefly outline the United States vs. Washington State case of 1974.

6. When was the 1974 decision of Judge Boldt in the United States vs. Washington State upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals?

7. What is the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission?

KI.4

Treaty and Non-Treaty Catch in U.S. vs. Washington Case Area† 1979-1986

Year	Treaty Catch	Treaty Percentage	Non-Treaty Catch	Non-Treaty Percentage
1970-73 (average)	328,888	5.0%	6,231,044	95.0%
1974	688,582	11.9%	5,845,482	88.1%
1975	827,356	12.1%	5,987,374	87.9%
1976	986,153	13.8%	5,600,131	86.2%
1977	1,360,399	16.9%	6,691,223	83.1%
1978	1,391,890	27.2%	3,727,355	72.8%
1979	1,938,388	22.4%	6,742,089	77.7%
1980	1,526,571	42.9%	2,030,845	57.1%
1981	2,784,258	33.8%	5,450,628	66.2%
1982	3,019,250	45.7%	3,590,968	54.3%
1983	2,145,373	43.3%	2,809,077	53.7%
1984	2,033,362	49.0%	2,112,526	51.0%
1985*	5,351,011	49.8%	5,399,966	50.2%
1986*	3,117,830	47.1%	3,522,283	52.9%

*Preliminary commercial catch data
†Catches include marine areas 1 through 13

Treaty and Sport Harvest of Steelhead in the U.S. vs. Washington Case Area 1961-62/1986-87

Year	Sport Harvest†	Treaty Harvest#	Total
1961-62	79,100	18,000	97,100
1962-63	85,900	21,700	107,600
1963-64	113,200	21,600	134,800
1964-65	80,400	18,000	98,400
1965-66	108,700	18,000	126,700
1966-67	100,100	18,000	118,100
1967-68	103,700	18,000	121,700
1968-69	86,600	18,000	104,600
1969-70	49,300	18,000	67,300
1970-71	77,100	17,300	94,400
1971-72	94,600	27,500	122,100
1972-73	56,400	25,000	81,400
1973-74	58,900	35,600	94,500
1974-75	60,200	61,400	121,600
1975-76	29,900	57,000	86,900
1976-77	32,200	42,500	73,700
1977-78	69,100	49,700	118,800
1978-79	57,100	47,000	104,100
1979-80	70,900	48,400	119,300
1980-81	55,100	41,400	96,500
1981-82	46,600	60,600	107,200
1982-83	42,400	55,400	97,800
1983-84	52,100	61,200	113,300
1984-85	85,000	103,778	188,778
1985-86*	56,467	88,094	144,561
1986-87*	60,267	72,518	132,785

†Sport harvest data provided by Washington Department of Game.
#Data prior to 1974 is incomplete due to lack of an accurate catch reporting system. No data was collected between 1964 and 1970, the numbers presented are estimates developed by WDG. The data from 1974-75 through 1977-78 was compiled by the USF&WS. Data after 1978 was jointly compiled by WDG and the Treaty Tribes.
*Preliminary commercial data.

(Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission data)

Tribes Released 49 Million Fish in '87

Treaty Indian tribes in western Washington released more than 49 million hatchery salmon and steelhead in 1987, according to Bill Frank, Jr., chairman of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission.

"The 1987 releases represent an increase of about two million over 1986, which means Indians and non-Indians alike will benefit even more in future years from tribal fisheries enhancement efforts," Frank said.

Of the 49,025,752 released in 1987, about 24.5 million were chum salmon; 11.2 million were coho; 11.4 million were chinook; and nearly two million were steelhead.

"The tribes have released an annual average of 50 million salmon and steelhead since 1985. This is just one indication of the tribes' level of commitment to building a better fisheries resource," Frank said.

Some of the fish released were the result of cooperative efforts between the tribes and state Departments of Fisheries and Wildlife; U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Trout Unlimited and other sport angling organizations, Frank said. "Cooperation is the key to success in fisheries management. By working together, we can better meet the needs of people and the resource," he added.

"The tribes are proud of their accomplishments in hatchery production, both in terms of numbers and in the quality of the fish released. We also will continue to work hard in re-establishing wild stocks, protecting and restoring fish habitat, and whatever else is needed to rebuild the resource," Frank said.

Tribe	Fall Chinook	Spring/ Summer Chinook	Coho	Chum	Sockeye	Steelhead	Total Fish	Total Pounds
Lummi	3,167,196	141,900	1,468,124	0	0	0	4,777,220	118,169
Nooksack	0	0	0	294,000*	0	0	294,000	659
Skagit Coop	0	0	100,391*	0	0	0	100,391	5,905
Stillaguamish	0	49,900	138,750	438,300	0	0	626,950	1,463
Tulalip	1,057,660*	0	700,365*	2,300,000	0	0	4,058,025	56,460
Muckleshoot	1,411,037	0	0	578,488	0	67,260*	2,056,785	9,797
Puyallup	589,195	0	257,706	52,744	0	51,208*	950,853	11,422
Nisqually	1,085,122*	0	668,074*	99,622	0	0	1,852,818	46,757
Squaxin	397,558*	0	2,777,900*	6,550,328*	0	40,446*	9,766,232	277,790
Port Gamble	0	0	437,508*	1,660,710	0	0	2,098,218	21,985
Suquamish	1,253,656	0	657,071*	7,621,018*	0	31,254	9,562,999	63,794
Skokomish	733,258	0	0	2,900,000	0	22,932	3,656,190	10,798
Lower Elwha	207,771	0	1,025,900	0	0	73,630	1,307,301	54,794
Hoh	0	0	83,367*	0	0	90,388	173,755	15,221
Makah	162,500*	0	197,000	361,000	12,400	24,700	757,600	18,257
Quileute	0	40,700*	250,404*	0	0	41,800	332,904	6,519
Quinault	1,127,857*	0	2,475,744*	1,558,373	0	1,491,537*	6,653,511	218,448
Totals	11,192,810	232,500	11,238,304	24,414,583	12,400	1,935,155	**49,025,752**	938,238

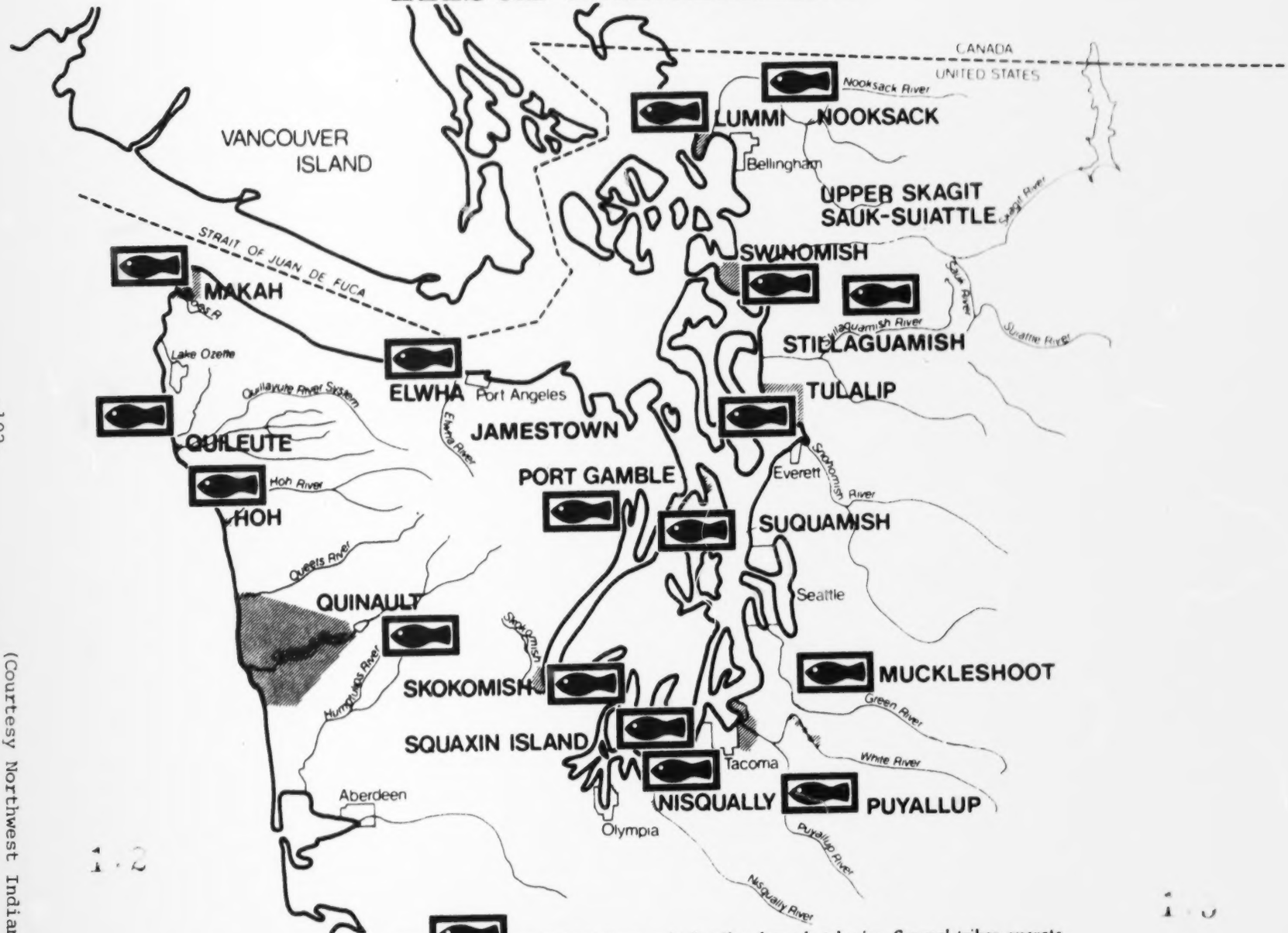
*Some of these fish were produced in cooperation with the Washington Departments of Fisheries and Wildlife, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Trout Unlimited or others.

Tribal Releases in Previous Years

Year	Pink	Coho	Chinook	Chum	Sockeye	Steelhead	*Total Fish
1976	409,000	4,244,200	1,992,500	1,705,000	1,236,600	341,400	9,928,700
1977		5,319,000	1,848,000	11,504,000	186,000	288,000	19,145,000
1978	220,000	4,072,000	6,151,000	17,103,000	368,000	197,000	28,111,000
1979		4,067,000	4,998,000	18,478,000	483,000	470,000	28,496,000
1980	287,000	5,068,000	6,083,000	11,899,000	328,000	389,000	24,054,000
1981		6,959,000	5,577,000	12,647,000	297,000	1,162,000	26,642,000
1982	143,000	8,167,000	10,843,000	13,368,000	469,000	1,399,000	34,389,000
1983		9,581,000	9,987,000	12,878,000	476,000	1,127,000	34,049,000
1984	757,000	10,111,000	8,830,000	11,153,000		1,788,000	32,639,000
1985		17,605,460	9,627,269	27,787,534	200,269	2,435,120	57,655,652
1986		11,261,318	11,819,777	22,811,783	240,308	2,360,079	48,493,265

(Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission data)

Tribal Hatcheries



Note: symbols indicate which tribes have hatcheries. Several tribes operate more than one hatchery facility.

(Courtesy Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

INDIAN TREATIES

A Brief History of Northwest Indians to the Treaty Period (1850s)

During the 1960s, archeologists uncovered human bones at a rockshelter in southeastern Washington. Termed the Marmes Man, this is the oldest human skeleton found in the New World who lived about 10,000 years ago near where the Snake and Palouse Rivers meet. A campsite about 1,000 years older than the Marmes Man was found near Grand Coulee Dam in 1973; a dig in the 1960s revealed an 8,000 year old Indian campsite at the mouth of the Tucannon just across the Snake River about 40 miles northeast of Pasco; and artifacts were discovered undisturbed in a Wenatchee orchard in May, 1987, relics of Paleo-Indian hunters known as Clovis people who pursued Ice Age mammoths, camels, bison, and horses nearly 12,000 years ago (Clovis tools are the oldest undisputed artifacts ever found in the New World). In July, 1987, archeologists discovered what may be the earliest known Indian village site in the Pacific Northwest on the banks of the Snake River in southeastern Washington. The Wanapum Indian village site, which at one time had at least 60 housepits, may have been occupied for 2,500 years; and Ozette, a series of whaling villages on the Pacific Coast south of Cape Flattery, was occupied by ancestors of the Makah for hundreds of years. From those ancient times until the arrival of the Spanish in 1774 and the English in 1778, anthropologists believe there was almost continuous settlement by indigenous people of what is now Washington State.

The Northwest Indians fell into two clearly contrasting cultures--the Coastal and Puget Sound tribes and, living distinctly separated from them, the Plateau tribes east of the Cascade Mountains. The richest Indians of North America lived on the coastal lands of what are now Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. With an abundance of fish, game and edible plants, they never went hungry. With the straight-grained cedar tree and hand tools they were able to make sea-going canoes, containers, boards for longhouses, and even fiber for clothing, nets and baskets.

Northwest Indians relied heavily upon the salmon as their staple food for the entire year and as a basis for commerce or trading. The salmon appeared in the religious practices and everyday life of the Indians. The phenomenon of salmon traveling up rivers and streams to spawn every year in large numbers was naturally impressive, a basis of much mythology and a subject of prayers, songs and dances.

Native Americans throughout the country held a different concept of land from that of the European Americans. An individual did not own land because land, like water and sky, was to be shared and its resources respected. This concept of land does not mean that Northwest Indians had no concept of "ownership." Individuals owned canoes, baskets and blankets, tools and jewelry. In fact, to some degree, wealth determined leadership and provided for maintenance of a very elaborate and sophisticated social structure. Because of the Northwest Coastal potlatch system of periodically giving away the wealth one had accumulated, wealth and leadership were rarely passed on to children (for additional information about give aways or potlatches, please refer to the section in this book entitled "The Feast System"). The governance of a band or extended family was delegated to those with leadership qualities, decided by agreement by members of the band.

Indian people who lived east of the Cascades in the Plateau culture area, while well off, did not have the abundance of easily accessible food that was available to the Coastal and Puget Sound tribes. Plateau Indians hunted more extensively and occasionally traveled as far east as the upper Missouri access in order to hunt buffalo. They fished in the Columbia River and its tributaries for salmon--always the main staple. By the mid-1700s Plateau Indians were using horses to travel. Since resources were plentiful, farming was not necessary. The Plateau Indians also had no concept of individual land ownership. Generally, the social structure of these bands was informal, relying upon tradition and conscience for social order. Here, too, chiefs were selected for qualities of leadership, but the influence of one or a few individuals often extended much further than it did west of the Cascades.

There was still another group of Washington Indians, the Chinooks, who lived along the Columbia River and provided a useful transition between the Coastal, Puget Sound and Plateau culture areas. The Chinooks were the traders, the connection across the Cascades, who exchanged large quantities of dried fish for the meat, camas root and animal hides from the Plateau tribes. In the 1800s the Chinooks became the middlemen for other Indians and the European traders, and they developed a unique trading language or "jargon" (to read more about this language, please refer to the section of this book entitled "Business"). Their contact with the whites, though, brought new diseases to them against which they had no immunity; and between 1829 and 1832, the Chinook were virtually wiped out by various epidemics. Other Indian tribes were also weakened by epidemics of measles, smallpox and venereal diseases to which they had no resistance.

Washington was made a territory of the United States in 1853. At this time the federal government was implementing a policy of consolidating many tribes from different areas onto a few reservations, thus leaving more land available for incoming settlers. This policy was also intended to facilitate the transformation of Indians into farmers and their assimilation into non-Indian society.

Treaty Making in the Pacific Northwest

In 1854, Isaac Stevens, the first territorial governor and also ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the territory and surveyor for the railroad, was sent to the Washington Territory to secure the land for settlement. He was told to make treaties with the Indian tribes living there and move them to reservations. A treaty is a negotiated resolution to conflict; and as soon as Europeans started colonizing or settling in North America, they began negotiating with native peoples in order to avoid conflict. Treaty making with the aboriginal inhabitants is rather unique to the United States and has its roots in the English and, more generally, northern European concept of the native peoples as "noble savages." Consequently, treaty making was not just a way to secure peace, it was the "honorable" thing to do in a nation of laws whereby title to land and property could be secured only through legal means. This stands in contrast to the outright conquest and enslavement of the native peoples of Mexico and Latin America by the Spanish. The United States Constitution states that a treaty is "the supreme law of the land--anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary not-with-standing."

Indian treaties were negotiated in meetings between representatives of both nations although exactly who the Indian designees represented was often questioned. Language was usually a big problem. Frequently the transcripts of the discussions, the English text of the treaty, and Indian reports of the transactions all disagree with one another. There is also the question of whether or not the Indians who signed the treaties in Washington Territory understood exactly what they were signing. Treaties were written in English which none of the Indians read, and they were translated into and negotiated with Chinook trading jargon which had only about 300 words derived from English, French and Indian languages. This sparse, unsophisticated jargon was then sometimes translated into the various Indian languages. A member of Stevens' staff complained, "I could talk the language, but Stevens did not want anyone to interpret in their own tongue and had that done in Chinook. Of course, it was utterly impossible to explain the treaties to them in Chinook." One thing the Indians were very sure of, though, was that they would retain their right to fish in their usual and accustomed locations.

Often United States representatives came to treaty negotiation sessions prepared with a proposal and threatened war if it was not accepted by the Indians or coaxed them into signing treaties with promises of white men's goods. Another problem occurred when the representatives of the tribes had no authority to make the promises they did, or they only represented themselves and their own families. The Indians had no experience with signing legal documents prior to treaty-making time. Stevens, following a United States tradition in treaty making, recognized some men as chiefs and refused to recognize others. Sometimes those recognized were pliable men who could be bribed, making negotiations easier. There are still disputes over which Indians made their marks on the treaties. One man who did understand the treaty ramifications and refused to sign was Leschi of the Nisqually. He claimed his mark was a forgery and went to war over the small, barren piece of land reserved for his tribe.

Indian treaties concluded conflicts, as other treaties do signed between two nations. They ended wars (in only two treaties, however, did tribes concede defeat), sold or exchanged lands, opened up trade, established special procedures for peacefully resolving disputes among their people, and obligated the United States to provide "foreign aid" in the form of money, food, machinery, teachers, and technical training. Indian treaties differ from other treaties in only two important aspects. Most Indian treaties delegate to the United States power over war and foreign trade--just as the states delegate these powers to the federal government in the Constitution. Some Indian treaties also authorize the United States to enforce some of its laws within tribal territory for the protection of Indians and non-Indians alike. This is also similar to the states.

Governor Stevens was committed to building the white population and white prosperity of the Washington Territory. Conflicts between settlers and Indians over land issues ran contrary to these goals, and he believed that clear definitions of Indian land holdings would help stabilize the situation.

Stevens acted quickly. Using a basic treaty form, he met with the Indians of Puget Sound and Pacific Coast and within eight months secured their assent to

treaties ceding to the United States almost all of Western Washington. By the end of 1855, he also secured the agreement of the tribes who fished the Columbia River and its tributaries east of the Cascades.

The seven treaties which form the basis for most of Washington State's Indian reservations are:

1. Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup and Other Tribes at Medicine Creek (Nisqually, Puyallup, Squaxin Island and other tribes or bands), 1854.

2. Treaty with the Dwamish, Suquamish and Other Tribes at Point Elliott (Duwamish, Suquamish, and other tribes or bands), 1855.

3. Treaty with the S'Klallam at Point No Point (S'Klallam, Skokomish and other tribes or bands), 1855.

4. Treaty with the Makah Tribe,(Makah), 1855.

5. Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse and Umatilla Tribe, 1855.

6. Treaty with the Yakima Nation (Yakima and other tribes or bands), 1855.

7. Treaty with the Quinaielt and Quillehute Tribes (Quinault and Quileute), 1855.

These treaties took title to 64 million acres of land for the United States, and soon many tribes realized what being restricted to small reservations would mean to their traditional ways of living. Sporadic wars (Yakima, Coeur d'Alene and Palouse Tribes) followed treaty making, with these Indians soon following the rest onto reservations.

The price Indians paid to retain their fishing rights was approximately two-thirds of current day Washington State, yet for nearly forty years the Yakima, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, Quileutes, and other Washington tribes have been fighting for their tribal right to fish in this state. A series of court cases have reaffirmed the Indian right to fish, most recently the 1974 decision of Judge George Boldt in the case of United States vs. Washington which was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1979.

When the tribes signed these treaties, they reserved their right to fish and hunt in their "usual and accustomed places" and that meant to them both on and off the reservations. Also, when the Indian tribes signed treaties with the United States, in most cases they gave up their rights to reside on or retain the title to the land they had occupied.

What Treaties Meant

The Isaac Stevens treaties, like earlier treaties made in other parts of the United States, reflected a basic misunderstanding of the Indian concept of

land as a communal, shared resource, as something inseparable from all life--a part of themselves. The European, and consequently American, concept was that land is a commodity to be owned, fenced or sold.

Another misunderstanding was the assumption that if the Indian were given a certain amount of acreage, he/she would settle and become a farmer (never mind the fact that by this time a majority of the good farm land was already taken by whites, and that Indian people were traditionally fishermen and gatherers, not farmers). Stevens assumed that with the homestead farming pattern established, the Indian would disappear into the American melting pot.

Many bands were to be concentrated on a single reservation so control over them would be more effective and the authority of designated chiefs was to be strengthened so they could be held responsible for their people. It should be noted, however, that fishing was so important to some of these bands that they simply refused to move to reservations which were located too far from their traditional fishing areas. For example, the Klallams and Chemakums did not move to the reservation established by the Treaty of Point No Point at Skokomish. They stayed at their ancestral areas and did not acquire any lands of their own until quite recently.

Each of Stevens' treaties included the following guarantee: "The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the territory."

The minutes of many of the treaty sessions show that the Indians feared they might lose their fisheries but Stevens repeatedly reassured them that they had a right to fish in the places they always had, and that the government had no wish to interfere with their freedom to fish where and when they liked. At that time the federal government did not foresee any conflicts between the guarantee of continued fishing rights for the Indians and the growing population of the Washington Territory. As the government saw it, the settlers were coming to farm, not fish, and it would be convenient for them to have the Indians provide fish.

It is possible that the Indians, with their different concept of land, did not understand that they were supposed to live permanently on the small pieces of land reserved for them. However, they did understand quite clearly that they would retain their rights to hunt and fish as they always had and where they always had.

Also, the concept of dependency of the tribes upon the Federal Government was introduced. Tribes were to be given clothing, utensils, food, etc., on a continuing basis as one of the conditions for giving up their land. The continuing education of Indian children was also included as a condition in these treaties. It was during the treaty period that the trust relationship between the United States and the tribes evolved from the dependency concept and replaced the original concept of equal status governments. Land was the basis for the trust relationship which refers to the restricted entrusted status in which lands not ceded, but retained by the tribes, are held in trust by the United States for tribes' use and benefit.

Why Treaty Making Ended

Motivated by Congressional concern over the large amount of foreign aid the President had been agreeing to in Indian treaties, in 1871 Congress passed a law forbidding the President to negotiate any more such treaties. The same law provided "that hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; provided further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe."

Further dealings with the tribes have been through legislative agreements, executive orders or agreements between the executive and a tribe, later ratified by Congress.

Post-Treaty Period

Congress inacted many forms of legislation which impacted Indians living both in Washington and across the United States. What follows is a brief overview of some of the legislation and its affect upon Indian people.

From the 1870s until 1934, when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress, federal policy toward Indians remained consistent--attempt to destroy tribal cultures, the eventual elimination of reservations and the assimilation of Indians into non-Indian society. The population, economy and land base of Indians experienced a steady decline, and the values, traditions and cultures of Indian people also suffered greatly. The Allotment Act of 1887 (also referred to as the Dawes Severalty Act) divided reservations into individual land parcels which could be sold after 25 years of being held in trust. Private ownership was then given to persons owning these parcels and they were declared capable of managing their affairs by the reservation Indian agent. From 1890 to 1934 some two-thirds of reservation land passed out of Indian ownership.

Shifts in land ownership from Indian to non-Indian occurred in three ways. First, tribal land that had not been allotted to Indians was regarded as "surplus" land and was made available to non-Indians (this was often the choice farming and grazing land). Second, individual Indians, not used to private ownership of land and constantly impoverished, sold their lands to non-Indians. Third, most Indians did not understand the concept of local property taxes. The taxes became delinquent and much land was sold at tax sales.

The effect of this land transfer on Indian sovereignty, identity, culture and unity was devastating. The lands sold were the most valuable farming and grazing areas, the loss of which further impoverished the Indians. Also, the checkerboard pattern of Indian-white ownership created by selling off pieces of reservation land has led to vast difficulties in law enforcement. In addition, the government actively discouraged tribal unity by limiting or

forbidding tribal customs, use of native language and religious practices which, in the past, had served to stabilize and reinforce the values of the Indian community.

In 1924, Indians were declared citizens of the United States, not because they requested it but primarily because many had served in World War I (by 1918 there were over 10,000 American Indians in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, 85 percent of whom, according to the Indian policy reform newsletter Indian's Friend, entered voluntarily). This action did not take away or diminish the sovereignty of tribal governments nor did it reduce the legality of treaties and the rights Indian people were promised through these treaties. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act stopped further allotment and sale of tribal lands still in tribal ownership. The act was a belated attempt to reverse the deterioration of the reservations caused by the Allotment Act and was also an attempt to upgrade tribal governments. The League of Women Voters in its publication Indian Country commented: "In passing this act, in effect the United States acknowledged how important Indian communal life was as a means of preserving and encouraging social controls and traditional values as a base for changes made by the Indians themselves."

Passage of the 1934 Act also provided for re-acquision of land and for tribal ownership of remaining surplus lands on reservations. One of its most important provisions authorized tribes to organize for self-government. The tribes which did reorganize were then vested with the power to negotiate with other governmental agencies and to employ legal council.

Seven years after the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, the United States became involved in World War II and advancements and improvements in reservation life were forgotten. According to the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, there were over 7,500 American Indians in the Armed Forces as of June, 1942, less than six months after the attack on Pearl Harbor. By October of that year another observer reported that the number of American Indians in the military had increased to well over 10,000. By 1944, almost 22,000 American Indians, not counting those who had become officers, were part of the United States Armed Forces. At the war's end there were over 25,000 American Indians in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard. "While this seems a relatively small number," wrote Commissioner Collier, "it represents a larger proportion than any other element of our population." There were a great number of other Indian contributions to the war effort through the sale of war bonds, working in the war industries, offering reservation resources (including food) and tribal funds to the Federal Government for the duration of the war; and in the press, images of American Indians were used to boost morale by portraying them (and rightly so) as loyal, brave, trustworthy fighters dedicated to the American cause.

Although the American Indian contributions during the war years tended to endorse the greatness of America's fight against Nazism and Fascism, they were also unfortunately misinterpreted to mean that Indians were desperately trying to prove themselves worthy of the rest of society, favored assimilation into non-Indian society, and were striving to become part of mainstream American society.

The process of emancipating American Indians and relieving the federal government of some long-standing responsibilities began almost immediately following World War II. In 1946 Congress created the Indian Claims Commission in order to hear and settle various claims made by Indian tribes against the United States. In large part, the establishment of this Commission was a genuine attempt to do justice to American Indians who had suffered at the hands of the government. On the other hand the Commission was also designed to take care of the legal suits in order to clear the way for an eventual withdrawal of the United States Government from the "Indian business."

A year later lawmakers in Washington, D.C., established the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government and appointed as its head former President Herbert Hoover. Within the Commission's jurisdiction, Hoover set up an Indian Task Force in order to investigate and make recommendations on American Indian policies. In 1948, less than a year after its formation, the Hoover Commission issued a rather bland analysis of then current programs directed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although it condemned the policy of breaking up the reservations into individually-held plots of land and urged caution in effecting rapid changes in policies, it nevertheless asserted that "assimilation must be the dominant goal of public policy" toward American Indians.

Nothing it seemed could alter the course that American Indian policy took in the ten years following World War II. Despite vigorous protests from the newly organized National Congress of American Indians and some objections from a few government officials, the Federal Government moved unyieldingly toward a policy of termination of treaty rights/obligations. Using the argument that the federal government was merely trying to grant the rights and freedoms of citizenship that American Indians had fought so hard for in the war, Congress reduced Bureau of Indian Affairs appropriations, urged the agency to promote assimilation programs such as relocating American Indians from the reservations to the cities and pressed for complete abolishment or termination of federal responsibilities to American Indian tribes.

On August 1, 1953, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which declared termination to be government policy toward the Indians' special status and reservations. The federal government sought to withdraw its supervision of and responsibility for the welfare of Indian people. Simply stated, the trust relationship between the United States and Indian tribes was to be terminated. Senator Arthur V. Watkins, the resolution's most active supporter, declared that termination was in keeping with democratic principles and would be "the Indian freedom program" and only incidentally would it be a means by which the government could disregard its treaties with and treaty obligations to American Indians. Several tribes were, in fact, terminated during this period.

An urban relocation program was initiated, whereby Indians would be paid to relocate to cities for vocational training and subsequent employment. Many Indian people only found themselves stranded, without jobs, and living in an unfamiliar city environment.

In 1953, as part of the termination process, Congress also passed Public Law 280 which gave state governments authority to assume jurisdiction to maintain law and order on Indian reservations (major crimes such as murder, rape and robbery on reservations continued to be under the jurisdiction of the federal government), though hunting and fishing rights were exempted from the law's provisions. This law was designed to further carry out the assimilation policy by encouraging states to take an active role in criminal and civil law on the reservations. State jurisdiction under P.L. 280 was to take effect with the consent of the various tribal governments involved. In Washington State the tribes were not consulted, and P.L. 280 jurisdiction was assumed by the State and counties on all reservations where the land was not wholly owned by the tribes.

A change in federal Indian policy occurred in the years since enactment of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. It is now one of self-determination. Large areas of land taken away from various Indian tribes in the past have been returned to them. In May, 1972, a federal executive order returned almost 21,000 acres, including Mt. Adams, to the Yakimas.

In 1975, Congress passed Public Law 93-638, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which provides funding for tribally-controlled programs making the tribes responsible for services which were previously provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS).

Non-Treaty and Landless Tribes

There is no accurate count of just how many Indians live in Washington State today. In January, 1987, the BIA estimated approximately 40,500 Indian people living on or next to reservations. There were thought to be many thousands living away from the federally recognized reservations, and thousands more who belong to tribes who are not federally recognized and who lack a trust land base. These landless tribes include non-reservation treaty-signing and non-treaty tribes.

During the treaty-making period in which many Indian people were moved to reservations, some tribes chose to live in their traditional areas which were sometimes far from the new reservation, while others were excluded from the land chosen for them because United States negotiators, who were unfamiliar with tribal diversity, placed tribes who were traditional enemies together on the same reservation.

Two tribes were affected by military occupation--the Cowlitz and Mitchell Bay Tribes. Though the Cowlitz treaty was not ratified, Isaac Stevens set aside 640 acres on the west side of the Cowlitz River, later referred to as the Cowlitz Reservation. United States military occupation of the land occurred during a period of hostilities in the 1850s; although the Cowlitz Indians cooperated with the territorial government, the occupation continued and parcels of land were eventually sold to non-Indians. The Mitchell Bay Tribe of San Juan Island was a party to the drafting of the Point Elliott Treaty.

Prior to ratification, though, a border dispute between Great Britain and the United States over the ownership of this island resulted in a 17 year military occupation by both sides.

Federal recognition for the Samish and Wanapum may have been lost because of confusion in the relocation and treaty signing process.

The problems of federal non-recognition affect landless Indians in many ways. Lack of a land base today has resulted in a lack of services and protection provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the U.S. Department of Interior and, in Washington State, has resulted in the inability of landless tribes to qualify for fishing rights. Further, the Indian Claims Commission has made judgment awards to landless tribes on a per person basis, rather than a lump sum which could be used to purchase land to be held in trust.

The Duwamish Indians continue to live on their traditional land base around Seattle, Lake Washington and the Cedar River although, after the Treaty of Point Elliott, an agreement was reached to relocate members of the tribe to the Muckleshoot and Suquamish reservations. The Duwamish are still trying to secure their own land base, which would establish fishing rights and help to obtain BIA services. In 1979 anthropologists uncovered what might be an early 19th century Duwamish village in Renton. The Duwamish hope that this evidence along with other significant discoveries in the area might strengthen their claim to establish ancestral fishing rights and gain federal recognition.

The combined publication Are You Listening Neighbor and The People Speak--Will you Listen? states that there is no written policy or regulation in the U.S. Department of Interior prohibiting services for landless tribes. According to Felix Cohen in his Handbook of Indian Law, the legal definition of tribal existence is a political question since the power or recognition rests in the congressional and executive branches of government. He further lists one criterion for tribal existence: "That the group has been treated as a tribe or band by other Indians." The Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians gives full membership to landed and landless tribes. Membership in the National Congress of American Indians is also extended to landless tribes.

The Lower Elwha and Jamestown Bands of Klallam Indians, Nooksack, Upper Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle, and Stillaguamish are formerly landless tribes which have recently received official federal recognition. Petitions from the Cowlitz, Mitchell Bay, Wanapum, Duwamish, Samish, Snohomish, Steilacoom, Snoqualmie, and the Snake River Band were filed as of 1988 or are in the process of being filed with the Department of Interior.

Sources

American Indian Experience, Department of Human Rights, City of Seattle.

Washington State and Indian Treaty Rights, Facts and Issues, A Study Prepared by the League of Women Voters of Washington, July, 1980.

Tribal Governments and the Boldt Decision, David P. Weston, Tribal Operations Officer, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland, Oregon.

Indian Tribes--A Continuing Quest for Survival, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, June, 1981.

Understanding Indian Treaties as Law, prepared by Russel Barsh and published by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington State.

Indian Service Population and Labor Force Estimates, Bureau of Indian Affairs, January, 1987.

Fighting a White Man's War: The Extent and Legacy of American Indian Participation in World War II, by Tom Holm, published in The Journal of Ethnic Studies 9:2, 1981.

The Olympian, "Earliest Known Village Site Found," The Associated Press, July 21, 1987.

The Olympian, "Archaelogical Sites Abound Near Hanford," The Associated Press, August 20, 1988.

The Olympian, "Washington Rich in Crypts of Early Indian Artifacts," The Associated Press, August 14, 1988.

National Geographic, "Weapons of Ancient Americans," Peter Mehringer, Jr., October, 1988.

Nickolas Lampsakis, Senior Treaty Area Biologist, Point No Point Treaty Council

Nancy L. Butterfield, Information Specialist/Intern, Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission

SH:67

TREATIES

Definition and Study Questions

Define:

Archeologists

Anthropologists

Culture

Staple

Periodic

Access

Consolidate

Negotiate

Resolution

Treaty

Jargon

Reserve

Assumption

Trust

Allotment

Sovereignty

Jurisdiction

Recognition

Study Questions:

1. Name several agreements that exist between two groups in your community.
2. Why are formal agreements necessary?
3. What was the Indian concept of land? Did they believe in individual ownership?

4. What language was used to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes? Why?

5. Were treaties that were signed with Western Washington tribes based on warfare or land acquisition?

6. What is a negotiated settlement?

7. In what year were most treaties signed? In what year did Washington become a territory?

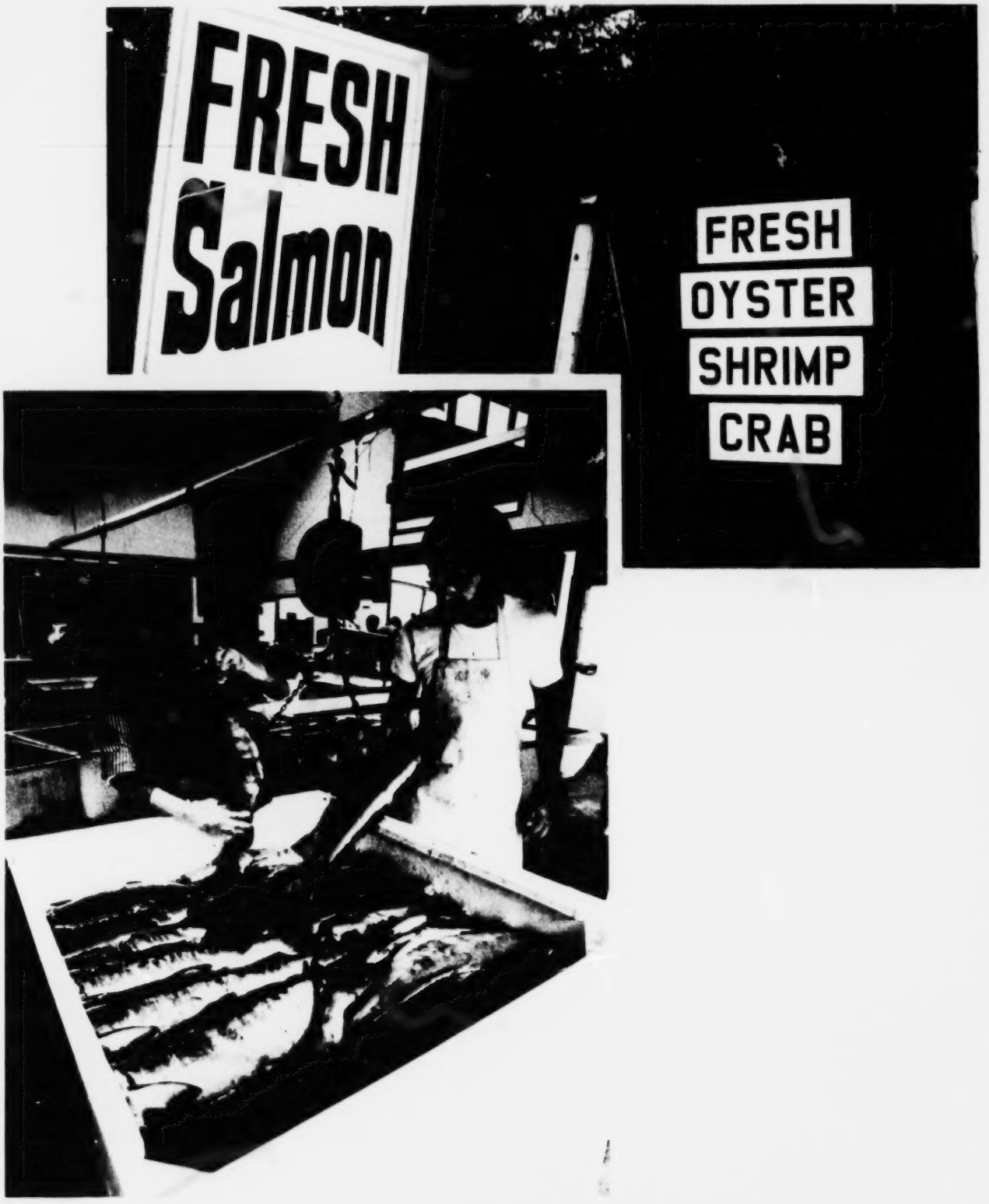
8. Did the treaties guarantee the Indians a right to:

   a. fishing
   b. education

9. When did the treaty period between the United States and Indian tribes end?

10. When did Indians become United States citizens?

SH.67



Fish Processing
Skokomish Indian Tribal Enterprises
(Photo courtesy Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF INDIAN TRIBES

Indian tribes in Washington State have been forced to take a hard look at their local economies as they struggle to succeed at a time when the federal government is reducing financial aid to reservations. Tribes are conducting self study as they progress toward self-determination.

Since the 1970s, many Indian people have returned home to their reservations. According to the United States Census Bureau, it is estimated that half of this country's 1.6 million Indian people now live on reservations. The 1974 ruling by United States District Court Judge George Boldt of Tacoma which reserved to treaty Indians in Washington State a 50 percent share of the state's harvestable salmon, has helped stabilize the economies of many tribal fisheries. A tribal fisherman who can earn $15,000 a year is considered to be doing very well. Unemployment is estimated at 50 to 80 percent on most state reservations; and, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, just 18 percent of the Indian people living on or near reservations who can find jobs earn $7,000 or more a year. There are not enough fish to sustain the estimated 65,000 Indians living in Washington State, about 40,500 of whom live on or near reservations, so tribes are seriously investigating, implementing and promoting economic opportunities for their people. There is also a new generation of highly-educated Indian young people in fields such as medicine, law and high technology who are committed to success for themselves and their tribes.

Because Native Americans are the poorest economically of any ethnic group in the United States, many people believe they are receiving more financial assistance than anyone else in the country; however, in 1980 the average per capita federal government spending for all U.S. citizens was $3,688. For Native Americans it was only $2,948, which is 20 percent less. Tribes realize they must look beyond those federal dollars and actively pursue self-sufficiency.

Tribes are entering the business world with well-informed market analysis made by persons with knowledge and expertise in making investments. (In 1985, there were approximately 5,180 American Indian-owned businesses nationwide with combined earnings of about $500 million.) Although the state and counties have no authority over land-use planning on tribal lands held in trust by the federal government, federal regulatory agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Environmental Protection Agency have the final authority on projects.

Along with tribal governments, tribal service agencies (i.e., health care, housing, social services, land management, education, etc.) and tribal fish hatcheries/fisheries management/enhancement which employ many Indian people on the reservations, tribes have also explored business opportunities in many other diverse areas such as agriculture, forestry, mining, construction, manufacturing, public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, services, and public administration. According to the 1985 edition of The Red Pages, Businesses Across Indian America, the Colville Confederated Tribes and the Yakima Nation were the top two tribes nationwide in the area of tribal timber

production. Following is a listing of tribes and some of the currently operating and proposed businesses on their reservations:

CHEHALIS:	Timber tracts
COLVILLE:	Sawmill; timber tracts; a post and pole plant; grocery stores; tribal credit office; convalescent center; well drilling; newspaper; bingo; agriculture; mining; and currently constructing the Colville Tribal Trout Hatchery.
HOH:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts
JAMESTOWN KLALLAM:	Fish hatchery
KALISPEL:	Agriculture; raising buffalo; timber tracts
LOWER ELWHA KLALLAM:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts; bingo
LUMMI:	Fish hatchery; construction; aquaculture; liquor sales; bingo; restaurant; timber tracts; and establishing a foreign trade zone and international port.
MAKAH:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts; wood products; arts and crafts
MUCKLESHOOT:	Fish hatchery; bingo; timber tracts; liquor and tobacco sales; construction (sand & gravel)
NISQUALLY:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts
NOOKSACK:	Fish hatchery; construction, manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish; bingo
NOOKSACK (MARIETTA BAND):	Arts and crafts
PORT GAMBLE KLALLAM:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts
PUYALLUP:	Fish hatchery; bingo; manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish, international port, clothing manufacturing
QUILEUTE:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts
QUINAULT:	Fish hatchery; wood products; timber tracts; manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish
SKOKOMISH:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts; manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish
SPOKANE:	Agriculture; timber tracts; mining, wood products; bingo

SQUAXIN ISLAND:	Fish hatchery; timber tracts; manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish; bingo
STILLAGUAMISH:	Fish hatchery; co-managers of the Stillaguamish River watershed with Washington State
SUQUAMISH:	Fish hatchery; arts and crafts
SWINOMISH:	Bingo; timber tracts; manufacturing fresh and frozen packaged fish; industrial park
TULALIP TRIBES:	Fish hatchery; bingo; timber tracts
UPPER SKAGIT:	Fish hatchery; Upper Skagit Wood Products Company producing hand-crafted, traditional cedar products
YAKIMA:	Fisheries; Mt. Adams Furniture; newspaper; agriculture; timber tracts; construction (sand and gravel, shale), industrial park; wood products

Harlan Sam, Production Manager, Upper Skagit Wood Products
(Photo courtesy of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

Economic prosperity and affluence are difficult to achieve for many Native Americans yet there is hope on many reservations today that a new economic independence is possible due to the various resources located on tribal lands. Every tribe has looked closely at its assets and tried to decide the most profitable and acceptable way of developing businesses. The question many tribes are now struggling with is how are they going to use those resources available? For the traditional Indian community, the answer is not so simple. In traditional Indian religion the earth has always been sacred, and it is still disturbing for many Native Americans to see bulldozers slicing scars across across the earth's surface or the clear cutting of entire forests.

The businesses that Indian communities are building are creating new hope for many Native Americans, and the businesses are proving to be as diverse as the people and the land on which they live. Although poverty still dominates the lives of many reservation Indians, the businesses are building an economic base that promises a profitable future for the tribes.

Indian people residing in urban areas primarily operate individually-owned businesses; however, many Indian people living on or near reservations also are in business for themselves and operate along with tribally-owned businesses. Businesses on Indian reservations are non-union.

Lummi Shellfish Processing Facility
(Photo courtesy of Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

COUNCIL FOR TRIBAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS:

The Council for Tribal Employment Rights (CTER) is an Indian owned and operated, nonprofit corporation, comprised and representing the interests of over 100 Tribal Employment Rights Offices (TEROs) on a national basis. With funds provided through an Administration for Native Americans Grant and private sector contributions, the CTER Board of Directors and staff provide training and technical assistance to Indian tribes, Native organizations, governmental agencies, and private sector employers in all aspects of Indian preference, tribal employment rights enforcement, business and economic development strategies involving the sovereign powers of the tribes.

The CTER is governed by a nine-member Board of Directors representing five TERO regions in Alaska, the Pacific Northwest, the Northern Plains, the Southwest, and the Eastern regions.

The CTER was originally founded in 1978 as the Tribal Employment Rights Planning Committee, which was originally composed of the first 12 TEROs in existence for the purpose of providing assistance to new TEROs. Today, the CTER is made up of over 100 TEROs with a primary goal of optimizing individual and organizational economic opportunities for Indian people.

CTER Services: Operating on the premise that Indian employment rights are sovereign and protected rights just as mineral, water, hunting, and fishing rights are, the CTER and the TEROs it represents are dedicated to ensuring the maximum utilization of Indian people in all employment, training and business opportunities both on and off the reservations. The CTER provides training and developmental assistance on-site, by telephone, mail, and in regional TERO seminars, conferences and workshops. CTER workshops are designed to cover the following areas: Tribal employment rights and Indian preference enforcement, Indian preference in contracting and small business development, tribal business and economic development, tribally developed certified apprenticeship and skill training programs, Public Law 93-638, section 7(b), Indian preference in the federal sector, and youth and entrepreneurship.

The TERO Concept of Indian Self-Determination: The TERO concept begins with the economic development of Indian workers through their gainful and meaningful employment. This is accomplished by utilizing the inherent sovereignty of the tribes to develop and enforce a TERO ordinance which perserves and protects the tribe's right to preferential employment, training and business opportunities within the exterior boundaries of the reservation. Utilizing the tribe's powers of exclusion and existing federal Indian laws, the tribes can pursue opportunities currently available to Indian workers but being monopolized by non-Indians.

Once the tribe has successfully captured existing opportunities and has begun to qualify tribal members in sufficient numbers, the tribe can then begin to develop new opportunities for placements either in new businesses or those existing adjacent to the reservation. This can be done through effective public relations and negotiations directly with the employers or through application of appropriate federal laws and regulations.

The TEROs have successfully applied the same approach used to employ Indian workers to secure contracts, subcontracts and small business opportunities for Indian contractors and entrepreneurs on and near reservations. The application of the TERO approach to economic development at the tribal level will be to existing enterprises and businesses first and then the development of new tribal projects and industries second. The concept promotes self-sufficiency through sound business practices and techniques.

(Photo courtesy Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission)

Resources

The Red Pages--Businesses Across Indian America, LaCourse Communications Corp., 1985.

Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission News, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1987.

American Indians Today: Issues and Conflicts, Judith Harlan, Franklin Watts Publishing Company, New York, New York, 1987.

Management of this Nation's Indian Fish, Wildlife and Outdoor Recreation Resources, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, July, 1987.

"Washington Indians: Tribes in Transition," a series of articles published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, November, 1985.

"Indians Turn Tourism Into Profit," The Olympian, July, 1988.

"New Hatchery Bolsters Link between Army, Nisqually Tribe," The Olympian, December, 1987.

"Indian Service Population and Labor Force Estimates," Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, January, 1987.

"Washington's Native American Population - A Community with Disproportionate Problems," Deanna Briese, Washington State House of Representatives, July, 1986.

Tribal Tribune, Vol. 13, No. 12, Colville Confederated Tribes, December 31, 1987.

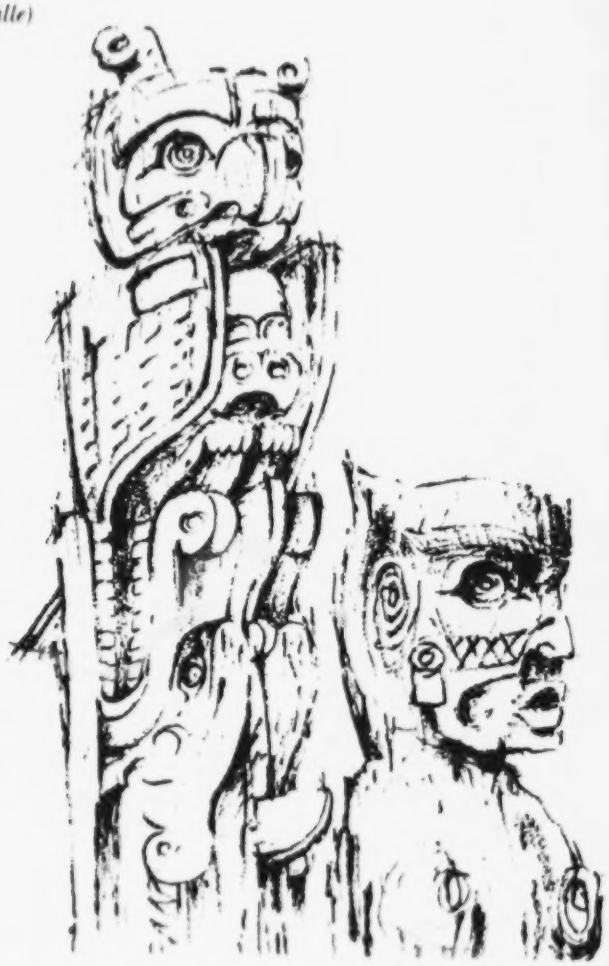
Council for Tribal Employment Rights

Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission

AM:2

Sketches by Lawney Reyes (Colville)

"Indian Head Chief donated to the Daybreak Star Center by Joan & Morrie Alhadeff, dedicated on August 26th, 1985. The Chief Head was one removed from the 10th floor cornice of the White-Henry-Stewart Building which was constructed in 1909."



"Two Kwagualth Totems donated to the Daybreak Star Center from Anne & Sydney Gerber, and dedicated at a special dinner on August 26th, 1985."

THE UNITED INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES FOUNDATION

". . .Then as I stood there
two men were coming from the East
head-first like arrows flying
and between them rose the daybreak star.
They came and gave a herb to me and said
'with this on earth
you shall undertake anything
and do it'.

It was the daybreak star herb,
the herb of understanding
and they told me
to drop it on the earth.

I saw it falling far
and when it struck the earth
it rooted and grew
and flowered
four blossoms on one stem
a black,
a white,
a scarlet,
and a yellow;
and the rays from these
streamed upward to the heavens so that all creatures saw it
and no place was there darkness."

Black Elk, Sioux

The United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (UIATF) is a public, nonprofit corporation formed in the State of Washington in 1970 whose philosophy is based on the vision of Black Elk, a Sioux Medicine Man. His vision foretold of a "daybreak star herb", the herb of "understanding," falling to the ground and blossoming forth on one stem in four directions. . .a black, a white, a scarlet, and a yellow. The four colors symbolize the four races of mankind united in four directions. . .

spiritually
physically
mentally
emotionally

The UIATF began as a community-organized grassroots effort to secure a small land base for greater Seattle's 20,000 member Native American population. On March 8, 1970, people gathered from the four directions of the North American Continent to fulfill Black Elk's prophecy. There was an overall feeling among Indian leaders that Indian needs were being ignored; the spoken word had not been kept, the written word had been broken. A continuous, centuries-old Indian heritage was at stake--apathy and silence could cause its extinction.

In 1970, the Defense Department declared surplus 390 acres of the Fort Lawton Military Reservation located adjacent to Seattle's Magnolia District. Seattle immediately applied for the land to be set aside as a regional park; however, inspired by the occupation of the abandoned Alcatraz Prison and surrounding island by Indians in California, members of the Seattle Indian community began their efforts to reclaim land originally inhabitated by their ancestors. With support from all of Washington State's tribal governments, the National Congress of American Indians, and the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the UIATF, over a two-year period, negotiated a 99year renewable lease with the City of Seattle for a 20-acre site in Discovery Park (the northwestern section of Fort Lawton), overlooking Puget Sound. Community planning efforts were undertaken by organizing Board members during the long and, sometimes difficult, negotiating process.

During 1972 and 1973, a part-time staff headed by the present Executive Director, Bernie Whitebear, worked with many volunteers to assess the immediate social service needs of the Native American community and to design the most effective role for the UIATF.

Initial grants were received to establish a cultural education program for youth which focused on traditional Indian arts; a year-long seminar series addressing the areas of Indian history and cultural heritage, contemporary Indian problems, and community leadership development; and establishing a program for Native American curriculum development. Today, the UIATF offers a wide range of services and programs for Native Americans and Alaskan Natives residing in Seattle and the surrounding communities. These include:

City Campcircle:	Provides drug and alcohol abuse outreach information and early intervention services to upper primary and middle school Indian children.
Adult School of Basics:	Provides adult basic education and GED preparation with concentration on targeted job skills.
UIATF Head Start Center:	Provides comprehensive education, nutritional, medical, and social services for Indian preschool children.
Education Clinic:	Provides academic GED preparation and tutoring services to counsel school dropouts.
GED Testing Center:	Provides full GED examination and scoring services.
Indian Street Youth Program:	Provides remedial education/GED preparation; alcohol and drug abuse information, assessments, and early intervention services; and career preparation and work therapy services to teenage Indian street youths.
Ina Maka Family Services:	Provides counseling; parenting skills training; drug and alcohol abuse information and early intervention services; reconciliation services for Indian families at risk of breaking up.

Native American Employment:	Provides career planning, job development, and job placement services for unemployed/under-employed Indian people.
Ex-Offender Employment:	Provides career planning, job development, and job placement services to former felony offenders.
Elders Program:	Provides hot meals three times each week, social and spiritual gatherings, and full transportation for elders.
United Way:	Provides general services and administrative support to UIATF's local program efforts.

For more information about the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, its services and programs, please call them in Seattle at (206) 285-4425.

The Daybreak Star Indian Cultural-Educational Center

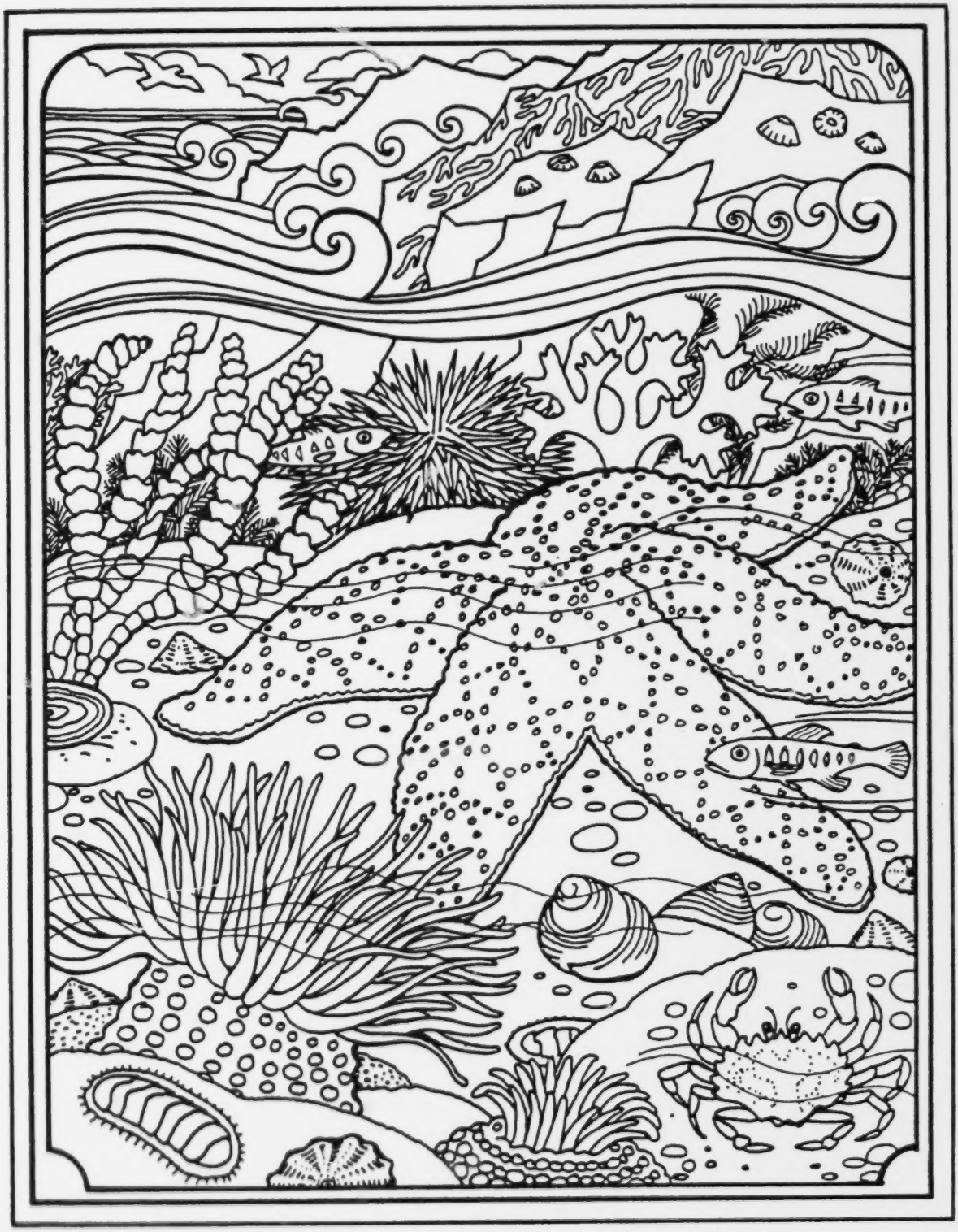
Immediately following the lease agreement, plans were begun to develop the program for the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural-Educational Center, plan the site and buildings and seed funds to begin construction. In March, 1973, the City of Seattle designated a portion of its general revenue-sharing funds for the Center, and an additional grant from the Economic Development Administration was used toward construction. Later, both Seattle and the EDA both committed additional funds toward this goal. In addition, UIATF received timber from the Colville, Quinault and Makah Tribes; major Washington businesses also contributed to the total construction effort.

Groundbreaking for the Center took place September 27, 1975. Much of the work on the building was done by Indian people. The land was excavated by an Indian subcontractor. A large percentage of the landscaping was done by an all-Indian work crew. Eighteen months later on May 13, 1977, the building was dedicated. On the afternoon of Sunday, May 15, 1977, a traditional dedication ceremony was conducted by Chief Eagle Feather, Sioux, who prayed to the "four colors."

The design team, consisting of Colville sculptor, Lawney Reyes, and architects Clifford Jackson and Yoshio Aria, received input from many individuals and tribes which were carefully considered and often incorporated, but the vision of Black Elk was their guiding force. The building is divided into four wings in observance of the four directions, north, south, east, and west which represent the four major geographic areas of the American Indian. Lawney Reyes conceived the structure of the building as settling into the surrounding land "like an eagle landing". Every effort was made to have the building reflects its Pacific Northwest Coast location and throughout the Center materials were used which are native to the area.

The Center contains various forms of art reflecting the heritage and culture of native peoples from throughout the North American Continent.

AM.60



SEA LIFE POETRY

by

Miss Gerri Williams
Third Grade, Dick Scobee Elementary School, Auburn
Muckleshoot Tribe

HARRY, THE STAR FISH

My name is Harry
I have five arms
I live under the water,
Where it's cold and warm.

I'm a "STAR," even though
I don't do movies.
How about you?
Will you become a "STAR?"

LITTLE CRAB

I saw a crab under a rock,
It was reddish brown.
I picked it up and brought it home.
I put it in the fishbowl with sand and rocks in it.
I kept the crab till we went back to the beach.

Then I let it free. . . .

FISH

FISH LIVE IN THE WATER,
FISH LIVE IN THE SEA.
THEY LIKE TO SWIM IN CIRCLES,
THEY LIKE TO PLAY WITH ME.
THEY CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT WATER,
THEY CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT ME.
BUT THEY CAN LIVE WITH THEIR FAMILIES,
AND THEY CAN LIVE WITH THEIR FRIENDS.
AND IT'S ALSO FUN TO WATCH THEM SWIM IN THE PRETTY BLUE SEA!

WHALE

I saw a whale out in the sea one day,
I looked at him; he looked at me.
We looked at each other all day.

My eyes got tired; the whale's eyes got tired
So we went to sleep.
When I woke up the whale was gone. . .

So I began to cry. . .
The whale came back, I gave him a hug,
Then I told him "Bye."

DR. FRANK B. BROUILLET
Superintendent of Public Instruction

Old Capitol Building, FG-11, Olympia, WA 98504-3211

IPS/644/88